

THE  
METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—FRIAR BACON AND LORD BACON.

1. *Lord Bacon's Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, and Henry VII*; with Introductory Dissertations and Notes, by J. DEVEY, M. A. London: H. G. Bohn. 1 vol. 12mo.
2. *The Entire Works of Francis Bacon*, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. A new Edition, revised and elucidated; and enlarged by the addition of many pieces not printed before. Collected and edited by ROBERT LESLIE ELLIS, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge: JAMES SPEDDING, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; and DOUGLAS DENON HEATH, Esq., Barrister at Law, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. [Announced in Oct., 1848.]

IN the opening chapter of his acrimonious and unfair tirade against the Baconian Philosophy, which is always amusing and sometimes witty, De Maistre remarks, that "Bacon spoke slightly enough of the only monk who had borne his name, but who had, nevertheless, inserted in his writings more truths than the Chancellor of England was acquainted with, and more than he could even have comprehended had he attempted to study them."\* The same criticism is repeated in another place: "Without leaving his own island, two coteremporaries, I mean the illustrious friar of his own name, and Joannes De Sacro Bosco, might have sufficed to teach Bacon that in the thirteenth century others had made a thousand times further advances in the science than himself, and that he was himself incompetent to understand what those two men had known."†

Count Joseph De Maistre, notwithstanding the extravagance of his opinions, was unquestionably endowed with a very vigorous and

\* De Maistre, *Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon*, chap. i.

† De Maistre, *Examen*, chap. x.

profound intellect, and is justly regarded as one of the great names which adorn the earlier part of the current century. But the flippancy of the language in the above quotations is utterly unbefitting both the author and the object of his censure. Unfortunately for the influence of De Maistre's malicious assault on the fame of Lord Bacon, he has in this instance, as in many others, displayed the insufficiency of his own knowledge, while reprehending the ignorance of the philosopher attacked. Had he known or suspected that Lord Bacon was acquainted with the writings of his celebrated namesake, he could scarcely have written the former of the above passages; but he might have imparted to his censure even greater severity, with a more scrupulous observance of justice, and he might have fixed his fangs in the flesh, where his venom was certain to mingle with the blood.

The knowledge which was denied to De Maistre, and the suspicion which did not visit even his suspicious mind, have been possessed and entertained to a very limited extent by others. Loose and incidental intimations of the obligations of the chancellor to the works of the friar, occasionally meet us in the literature of science and philosophy. No one, however, so far as we are aware, has yet attempted the task, which might have proved so serviceable to De Maistre, of exhibiting carefully and methodically the character and degree of that indebtedness, or of determining how far the merits and claims of the later reformer of philosophy are affected by the unacknowledged assistance derived from his memorable precursor. We have had no opportunity of consulting Humboldt's *Critical Examination of the History of Geography*, in which he has collected all the passages (of the *Opus Majus*) "relating to Roger Bacon's physical knowledge, and to his proposals for various inventions;"\* and, therefore, we cannot venture to assert that he has neglected to exhibit the relation between the earlier and the latter Bacon. But no intimations of any close connection between them are contained in the *Cosmos*, though the citations in that work from the *Opus Majus* might have supplied a suitable occasion for the mention of any suspicions, had they existed. So far as our knowledge extends, little more than hurried conjectures and rare testimonies have been applied to the determination of this interesting question.

From our past experience of the slovenly manner and imperfect learning with which recondite problems of philosophy are ordinarily treated by the scholars of England, and especially by those who have been hatched under the wing of Professor Whewell, and have chipped the egg in Trinity College, Cambridge, we have little reason to an-

\* Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. ii, p. 619, note. Ed. Bohn.



ticipate the satisfactory execution of this important inquiry by Messrs. Ellis, Spedding, and Heath:

*tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai;*

the three Cantabrigian fellows, who have proposed to themselves the revision, elucidation, and purification of Lord Bacon's remains, and who have been now for several years engaged, with little perceptible result, in preparing a new and complete edition of his works. Like their amiable predecessor in the same labor, the late Basil Montagu, they will, in all probability, either negligently or ignorantly overlook this significant question, notwithstanding its direct bearing on the history of modern science and philosophy, and its interest in relation to the legitimate claims of Lord Bacon on the admiration and regard of posterity. It is strange that works so celebrated and so important as Bacon's should never yet have been edited by a philosopher, a scholar, or a man of science; but should have been left to the inadequate attentions of persons having no natural or acquired aptitude for their proper treatment, and possessing but very moderate literary attainments. Hobbes was engaged in the original preparation of some of these treatises, and presented them with a Latin dress; but no name of celebrity, in England at least, has since been connected with their publication.

It might, perhaps, be regarded as a favorable symptom of the times that so many republications of the writings of Francis Bacon have been issued from the press during the late years; sometimes of his whole works, more frequently of his master-pieces, or of his exoteric and popular productions. This may minister merely to a literary fashion, and cater to that taste, which is so strongly exemplified in our day, of acquiring a superficial and ostentatious acquaintance with the principal works of all the classical authors of our own and other tongues. There is much reason to apprehend that the lately increased circulation of solid and celebrated books is, in great measure, due to the prevalence of such an appetite; but it is not unreasonable to suppose, at least to hope, that the earnest study and genuine appreciation of the Baconian philosophy may be extended among the elect, as one consequence of the fashion. Such an extension is greatly to be desired; for, amid all the eulogy of Bacon and the inductive method with which our ears are, and have long been habitually stunned, we are sorry to say that the indications are rare of any familiarity with the intrinsic merits or demerits of either. The result has been a noisy and inane arrogance, pluming itself on knowledge never possessed, and running headlong into error and danger, with a most amusing confidence of security and miraculous illumination.

But, while new editions of Lord Bacon and other celebrities, some forgotten, some dimly remembered, are streaming from the presses of different nations, no one thinks of reproducing the greater work (*Opus Majus*) of Roger Bacon, and introducing him to the curious regards of an inquisitive generation, cognizant of his name, but having little further acquaintance with him. Amid all the exhumations, of buried philosophies, and the unexpected resuscitations of the dry bones of defunct sages, neither private necromancers, nor corporate resurrectionists, neither French eclectics nor Camden clubs, neither Cambridge dons nor London publishers, dream of a new edition or translation of the writings of the "*Doctor Admirabilis*," whose profound speculations illumined the ages of alleged darkness, and secured admiration by the display of a light almost as brilliant as that of the "*Novum Organon*," and certainly more amazing when considered with reference to the time of its appearance. The most eminent of the forgotten philosophers of the mediæval centuries has been entirely disregarded by a generation solicitous for the re-production of any relic, whether priceless gem or useless rubbish, which has received the sanctifying mold of obscure antiquity. Bohn has already merited public gratitude by his valuable and judiciously selected libraries of cheap classics, from the midst of which we have picked his neat edition of Bacon's popular works for the text and occasion of our present remarks. He would render an additional service to the English-reading community, if he would annex to his scientific, or to his Antiquarian Library, or to his new series, the Philologico-Philosophical Library, a skillfully abridged translation of the *Opus Majus* of Friar Bacon. The middle and larger portion of the work treats of the Reformation of the Calendar, of mathematics, of optics, and the other sciences; and, although it originated views of much significance in the history of scientific progress, it is loaded with mistaken speculations and antiquated learning, which would be tedious, cumbrous, and repulsive, if exhibited in their full extent. But the vigorous original doctrines, which have either been adopted by succeeding generations, or have aided in the subsequent discovery of truth, though now thrown aside themselves, might be dexterously extracted, with so much of the wild menstruum in which they float as would show their connection with the philosophy of their author, their relation to the convictions and modes of thought of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and would also illustrate the characteristics of the intellect of Roger Bacon, in its strength and in its weakness. A complete edition of all the surviving remains of that remarkable man, prepared by a diligent and competent scholar, and furnished with a copious com-

mentary to explain the many difficulties which occur in his writings, and trace his dependence on his predecessors and his cotemporaries, and his influence on his successors, would be exceedingly desirable for students of the history of science and philosophy. His *Opus Majus* has alone been edited as yet; even that has been but once edited, for, though the edition of Jebb was republished at Venice, the addition of the *Prologus Galeatus*, designed to exculpate Bacon from the charge of magic, scarcely renders the Venetian republication a new edition. Among the manuscripts of his works preserved at Paris, and more abundantly at Oxford, neither of which collections was carefully examined by Dr. Jebb, other treatises than his principal composition might be discovered, and might aid us in determining the progress and the range of his speculations, if they rendered no further service. It may be that he inserted in the *Opus Majus*, which he composed to be submitted to Pope Clement IV., and sent to his holiness by his pupil, John of London, all that was essential and distinctive in his philosophical labors. But this is scarcely probable or possible. It can hardly be conceived that all the hardy and novel dogmas contained in the numerous treatises, of which the titles are given by Jebb, could have been compressed in their full integrity into the scanty limits of the specimen addressed to the pontifical judgment. Nor is the hypothesis of such a compression sustained by an examination of the work itself. Many discoveries and acquisitions were attributed to Roger Bacon in cotemporary, or nearly cotemporary times, of which there is either no trace or a very insufficient intimation in his single printed work. It is exceedingly probable that, in his case, as in the list of the productions of Aristotle exhibited by Diogenes Laertius,\* separate books and chapters have been represented as distinct works in many instances. But, as we would commit a grave error if the recognition of this blunder of the Greek gossip led us to infer that Aristotle's surviving works had been reduced to the *Organon*, so we are in danger of committing a similar, and perhaps equally grievous mistake, if we conclude that all of Roger Bacon's writings are virtually contained in the *Opus Majus*.

A complete and thoroughly annotated edition of Roger Bacon's writings would be interesting only to scholars and men of science; it would be too ponderous for those who desire simply a cursory acquaintance with his philosophical career. The wishes of the former class of readers have never been sufficiently enthusiastic to invite a repetition of the labors of Dr. Jebb, on an ampler scale; and the

\* St. Hilaire, *De La Logique d'Aristotle*, part I, chap. iii, vol. i, pp. 25, 26. Vide Jebb, Preface, *Opus Majus*, pp. xi-xiv, ed. Ven.

circle of those who are to be attracted by any new publication of his works must be considerably enlarged before any such publication will be hazarded. This can only be effected by such an abridgment as we have suggested. Whatever illustration of the intermediate books it might be desirable to introduce, could be very conveniently incorporated into the pages of a full and luminous introduction to the translation of the other parts. But who, in these days, is familiar enough with the learning, and philosophy, and science of the Saracens, Alchemists, and Schoolmen, to compose a satisfactory introduction to such a work? It would be a very meager achievement of this task to offer a mere biography of Roger Bacon. We should require, in addition to this, an instructive account of the intellectual condition of his age; of the influences under which his mental aspirations were formed; of the circumstances which favored, and of those which impeded his attempts at philosophical reform; and of everything which may reflect light upon his true position in the history of philosophical and scientific progress. But, whether embodied in the introduction, or inserted in its original order, a condensed statement of the substance of the middle books would be all that could prove generally useful. It would be necessary to translate *in extenso*, only the opening books and the conclusion, for it is in these that the philosophy of science is discussed, and the foundations of experimental philosophy are laid. It is principally from these that Lord Bacon has borrowed those doctrines and expressions, which have suggested the suspicion of his obligations to the old Franciscan, and which may be found to constitute characteristic elements of his own philosophy.

What we have indicated as alone expedient to be introduced into an abridged version of the *Opus Majus*, would furnish the contents for a volume suitable to be included in Bohn's series, and would form an attractive and instructive addition to his collection. If such an addition were published by him, or by any other member of the worshipful fraternity of bibliopoles, it might compel the editors and indiscriminate eulogists of Lord Bacon to take cognizance of his obligations to earlier philosophers, and especially to his namesake, whom he so rarely and grudgingly mentions; or, if this duty were still neglected, as has hitherto been usual, it would invite and enable others to investigate the relations and agreements of these homologous and homonymous philosophers, and discover the extent to which the younger reformer was indebted to his precursor, and the degree of criminality attending the concealment of this indebtedness. To expedite such a consummation, we propose to give here some of the principal results derived from our own examination.

It may be expedient to prefix a few dates to the observations which we are about to offer. The period of Roger Bacon's birth and that of his death are uncertain. Neither date has been accurately determined. The discrepancy, however, on this subject between the various authorities is too slight to merit much attention at present. The year 1214 has been accepted as the date of his nativity, and his death has been assigned to 1292 or 1294. He was born at Ilchester, in the County of Somerset, studied at Oxford and Paris, and, at the instigation of his friend, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, entered into the Order of Franciscans, after his return to England, and subsequently to the year 1240. He devoted himself assiduously, perhaps exclusively, to scientific pursuits intimately connected at that time with Alchemy, and not very favorably regarded by his Franciscan brethren, who were by no means distinguished among the great monastic orders by intellectual attainments. The works of Aristotle had been condemned and proscribed by the Council of Scissions in 1209, and the condemnation had been reaffirmed by the Papal Legate at Paris in 1215. The influence of the Church, alarmed by the multiplication of heresies, was at this period decidedly adverse to the studies in which Roger Bacon was engaged; and these studies were rendered more suspicious in his case by his connection with Robert Grosseteste one of the earliest leaders of ecclesiastical reform in England. His illiterate brethren regarded him and his avocations with no favorable feelings; and the *Opus Majus* was written and dispatched to Pope Clement IV., as a defense against their accusations by the exposition of his views. After the death of Clement, and under the pontificate of one of his successors, Nicholas III., Jerome d'Ascoli, the Superior of the Franciscans, in 1278 condemned the works of Bacon, and sentenced him to prison. In this confinement he was detained ten years. In 1288, he addressed himself to the compassion of the pope, and sought his favor by transmitting to him a tractate, *De retardandis senectutis accidentibus*; a subject which has a strong flavor of Alchemical associations, but which engrossed much of Lord Bacon's attention. The pope was Nicholas IV., Jerome d'Ascoli, the former Superior of the Franciscans, the judge by whom Roger Bacon had been condemned. Nicholas IV. remanded him to closer imprisonment; but the intercession of powerful friends at length procured his liberation. The release came in time only to accord him liberty in death, for he expired at Oxford not long after, at the age of seventy-eight, in 1292 or 1294.

A still briefer chronology of the better known life of Francis Bacon will be sufficient. He was born at York House, in the Strand,

London, the residence of his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper of the Seals, on the 22d of January, 1560. His mother, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, who had been tutor to Edward VI., was a woman of remarkable intellect, and distinguished by her published translations from the Latin and the Italian. At the age of nineteen, on the 10th of June, 1573, Bacon was matriculated as a member of the University of Cambridge. After a brief sojourn of two or three years\* at that seat of learning, he was sent by his father to Paris, under the care of Sir Amyas Paulet, the English ambassador at the Court of France. The death of his father in 1579 compelled him to pursue a profession for a livelihood. He selected the law, in which his promotion was too slow for his desire, though it seems to have been more rapid than could be reasonably expected. The impatience of genius chafed at delay; and the postponement of the studious retirement so ardently longed for, so constantly contemplated, fretted him in the dull course of legal practice. Bacon's first publication, a small volume of Essays, did not appear till 1597. In 1605 he gave to the world his treatise on the Advancement of Learning. On the 25th of June, 1607, he was appointed solicitor general; and attorney general in due course, on the 27th of October, 1612. Through the interest of the favorite, Villiers, the notorious Duke of Buckingham, he was intrusted with the seals on the 7th of March, 1616-17; he was placed at the head of the council in the course of a week, during the king's absence in Scotland; and on the 4th of January, 1619, he was created Lord High Chancellor of England, and in July, Baron of Verulam. During the next year, 1620, the *Novum Organon* was first published; and on the 27th of January, 1621, he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount St. Albans, and solemnly invested with great pomp with his new rank. His triumph was of short duration. Three days later the Parliament met, which inaugurated the agitation ultimately resulting in the Great Rebellion. Lord Bacon was among the earliest objects of its censures, and he was the first of its victims. On the 17th of March, he took his seat on the woolsack for the last time. On the 2d of May, the seals were sequestered; on the 3d the Lords adjudged him guilty of the charges preferred against him, and condemned him "to undergo fine and ransom of £40,000; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; to be forever incapable of any office, place, or appointment in the State or Commonwealth; never to sit in Parliament, nor come within the verge of the court." The

\* Basil Montagu, in his *Life of Bacon*, p. x, p. xvi, gives both periods; but that biography is exceedingly slipshod and slovenly, and often unintelligible from its constant confusion of the old and new style.



greater part of these penalties was afterward remitted by the king, but the character of Bacon was ruined, and his public life ended. Such was the result of his impeachment. This is not the place to inquire into its justice. The short remainder of his life was devoted to his studies. In the summer of 1621, he commenced his *Life of Henry VII.*, which is a marvelous combination of history, biography, political philosophy, and satire. In 1623, he published his treatise *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, which is a Latin version and expansion of the early essay on the Advancement of Learning. The last of his works published during his lifetime was his *History of Life and Death*, which reminds us of the latest work of Roger Bacon. In the year 1625, serious sickness attacked Lord Bacon; and his death ensued on the 9th of April, 1626.

By comparing the chronology of the lives of Roger Bacon and Francis Bacon, it will be perceived that their births and deaths, their misfortunes, and their great works, were separated from each other by an average period of three centuries and a half. If Francis Bacon is entitled to immortal renown for services rendered to the cause of experimental science in the seventeenth century, what honors must be due to Roger Bacon, if he should be found to have rendered similar services in the middle of the thirteenth, and to have prepared the way for the triumphs of his successor, who never acknowledges the assistance afforded?

Every one at all acquainted with Lord Bacon's philosophical writings, either by direct study or through the criticisms and expositions of others, is familiar with his constant crimination of Aristotle for concealing his obligations to previous philosophers, and for only mentioning their names when he finds the opportunity of reprehending their doctrines. We have studied Aristotle more closely than Lord Bacon appears ever to have deemed it necessary to do, and must candidly assert that we have been unable to discover any indications of this spirit; but, on the contrary, have found frequent traces of a generous and considerate disposition, lenient in the exposure of error, respectful to his adversaries, frank in his distribution of commendation to others by name, and grateful to his predecessors even for dubious services. Yet the charge is constantly repeated by Lord Bacon: "And herein I cannot a little marvel at the philosopher Aristotle, that did proceed in such a spirit of difference and contradiction toward all antiquity, undertaking not only to frame new words of science at pleasure, but to confound and extinguish all ancient wisdom; insomuch as he never nameth or mentioneth an ancient author or opinion, but to confute and reprove; wherein for glory, and drawing followers and disciples, he took the



right course."\* In another place, he says that "Aristotle, as though he had been of the race of the Ottomans, thought he could not reign, except the first thing he did, he killed all his brethren."† Other passages, similar to these, are scattered through Lord Bacon's works.‡ Yet it would not be difficult to show that each separate statement is unfounded or unjust. The spirit of difference and contradiction, wherever exhibited, is directed against the erroneous and pernicious theories of the Atheists, Pantheists, and Sophists, who were his predecessors or cotemporaries; but it is in a genial tone of admiration and respect that he speaks of Empedocles, Thales, Anaxagoras, Heraclitus, Parmenides, Socrates, and the chiefs of the Ionic and Italic schools. Lord Bacon was too imperfectly acquainted with the history of Greek speculation, and with its genuine remains, to comprehend the position and relation of Aristotle with respect to the course of philosophy. He was jealous of the fame of the Stagyræite, and greedily accepted all the slanders and vulgar calumnies circulated by Aristoxenus of Tarentum, and later scandal-mongers, in disparagement of the founder of the Peripatetic school.§ We doubt much whether his acquaintance with the great master extended much further than that second-hand knowledge which might have been picked up from the abundant tirades of Patrizzi, Telesio, Campanella, Peter Ramus, and other cotemporary reformers of philosophy. From such sources as these, eked out by his own imaginations, Lord Bacon drew his opinion of Aristotle, and he settled the merits of the Greek sages by bold conjecture. His criticism on these topics was just as dazzling and unsound, as his brilliant, oft-repeated, and oft-quoted maxim, that "Time, like a river, bears down to us that which is light and inflated, and sinks that which is heavy and solid."|| As far as Greek philosophy is concerned, and to that philosophy this striking expression is applied, we know that its fate has exactly contradicted this representation. There is just occasion to regret the loss of the works of Parmenides, Empedocles,

\* Advancement of Learning, book II, vol. ii, pp. 132, 133. Redargutio Philosophiarum, vol. xi, pp. 448-50.

† Adv. of Learning, book II, vol. ii, pp. 150, 151. A similar remark in regard to Aristotle had been made in the twelfth century, by John of Salisbury. It is cited by Jourdain. Trad. Lat. d'Aristote. Note F, p. 249, 2d ed.

‡ Nov. Org., I, Aph. lxvii, vol. ix, p. 217. Fable of Cupid, vol. xv, p. 48. Our references are to Basil Montagu's edition, which is still the most complete, though very disorderly, and in many respects unsatisfactory.

§ The endless libels on Aristotle, propagated by the malignity of the Greeks, are noticed and refuted by ancient testimony, in Blakesley's Life of Aristotle.

|| Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. lxxi. Essays, liii, vol. i, p. 173. Adv. of Learning, vol. ii, p. 48. Fab. Cup., vol. xv, p. 48.

Zeno, Heraclitus, and Democritus; though in all there appears to have been more fancy than sobriety or fact; but we have nearly everything that was most valuable in the productions of Plato and Aristotle, and a good deal that is spurious. The collection of Political Constitutions compiled by Aristotle is the only very serious loss; and these, however useful for the illustration of Greek politics and Greek history, were, as appears from their mutilated remains, rather the materials of philosophy, (*memoires pour servir*,) than any part of philosophy themselves. The essence of these lost or fragmentary collections, in the legitimate form contemplated by their industrious compiler, is still preserved in the Politics of Aristotle himself. Amid all the possible lamentations over the lost treasures of ancient literature, no regret can be more misplaced than that which deplores the devastations effected by time in the Greek Philosophy. Only ignorance, or malevolence, or caprice could pretend that the solid parts had been overwhelmed, and the superficial preserved.

Whatever truth or error may be involved in Bacon's imaginations on this subject, and in his complaints against Aristotle, there is no room for doubting that he himself systematically pursued the course which he charged on Aristotle as a crime. The demonstration of his guilt on each separate count may be left to the acute bitterness of De Maistre, from whom, however, we will repeat, rather than borrow, the assertion that Bacon himself desired to act like a veritable Ottoman.\* De Maistre's own researches did not enable him to prove or to suspect that he had actually endeavored to strangle his brethren, and entomb them in a silent oblivion; but the evidence which we shall produce may afford a foundation for some suspicion of that sort.

We shall first direct our attention to the subjects and titles of the works of Francis and Roger Bacon. In this inquiry, it is unimportant for our purposes to determine whether all the disquisitions of Roger Bacon, of which the titles have been preserved, were separate treatises, or whether the majority of them were only constituent portions of his extended work; for many of the treatises of Lord Bacon are only unfinished members of his incomplete work, the *Instauratio Magna*. Our object is only to indicate the similarity of the special investigations of the friar to those afterward pursued

\* " . . . j'observe seulement la singulière maladie de Bacon d'insulter constamment dans les autres ses défauts et ses ridicules propres. C'est lui qui aurait été le véritable Ottoman; c'est lui qui aurait tout égorgé, si l'on eût en la complaisance d'obéir à un eunuque noir qui voulait régner à la place des princes du sang," etc. Examen de la Phil. de Bacon, c. xii, note.

by his namesake, the chancellor, and the resemblance of their respective designations.

Lord Bacon's procedure in the selection of his subjects has often appeared to us exceedingly arbitrary and almost inexplicable. The connection and development of his main productions are obvious. It was natural and logical to commence the enterprise of renovating scientific studies with a careful delineation of the Advancement of Learning to his own times, and an intimation of the *desideranda* to be supplied for the facilitation of their further advancement. The same course has recently been pursued by M. Comte in his *Système de Philosophie Positive*.<sup>\*</sup> The contemplated scope of Lord Bacon's labors, and the example suggested by the received nomenclature of Aristotle's logical system, whose *Organon* he proposed to exclude from the domain of physical science, might readily suggest the name of the *Novum Organon*, for the outline of inductive logic which he was desirous of substituting in its place. But when he passed from the elaboration of theoretic generalities to their practical illustration, he certainly made a singular choice of subjects for this exposition; as he also did of the designations for these and other smaller works. The *Filum Labyrinthi*, or clew to these difficulties, may be partially detected in the career of his predecessor; and the eccentricity of the titles of Lord Bacon's productions will lose much of their peculiar idiosyncrasy, if there should be reason to regard them as borrowed or imitated.

To prevent unnecessary prolixity, though at the hazard of some apparent confusion, we shall blend, in our exposition, those instances in which Lord Bacon borrowed his subjects from the ancient friar with those in which he imitated his title-pages. In the prosecution of this part of our task, however, we begin to feel the want of a copious index to Lord Bacon's works, in Basil Montagu's and all other editions; a want which becomes more painful as we proceed, and so serious that we cannot refrain from censuring bitterly that grave omission, and expressing the hope that in Messrs. Ellis, Spedding, and Heath's edition, and in all subsequent publications of *Francis Bacon's Opera Omnia*, an ample and well-digested index may be appended. The indices given in some of the separate volumes of Montagu's edition are not sufficiently full, nor would sixteen separate indices render the same service which would be readily afforded by a single index which was complete.

In the catalogue of the various writings attributed by different authors to Roger Bacon, which is published by Dr. Jebb in his

<sup>\*</sup> Whewell's *History and Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* furnish a more recent example.

Preface to the *Opus Majus*, we find the following which may have supplied Francis Bacon with the titles of some of his works, or suggested subjects to him, or furnished ideas and materials for particular portions of his larger treatises: *De Materia Prima*; *De Ponderibus*; *De Potestate Mirabili Artis et Naturæ*; *Communia Naturalis Philosophiæ*; *In Naturalem Philosophiam*; *Ars Experimentalis*; *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris*; *Venti Novem Distinctiones*; *De Retardatione Senectutis*; *De Universali Regimine Senum*; *De Prolongatione Vitæ*; *Antidotarium Vitæ Humanæ*; *De Impedimentis Sapientiæ*; *De Causis Ignorantiæ Humanæ*; *De Utilitate Scientiarum*; *De Arte Memorativa*; *De Rebus Metallicis*; *De Cælo et Mundo*.

We are far from indulging the supposition that each of these subjects was discussed in a separate treatise. Several of the titles are evidently nothing more than variations. Many of them can still be discerned among the divisions and chapters of the *Opus Majus*, under such forms as might permit reference to them by distinct designations; nor do they all re-appear in Lord Bacon's works under exactly the same names, or as the epigraphs of separate productions. As, in many instances, they seem to have been originally distributed through the body of the *Opus Majus*, so the greater portion of them are in their supposed derivative form intermingled with the different productions of Lord Bacon; and any one who is familiar with the writings of the latter will at once perceive, or strongly suspect, the intimate connection between the earlier and latter schemes of the same philosophy. The following treatises of the chancellor may, however, be specially noted as exhibiting such a dependence: *De Motu*; *De Sectione Corporum*; *Natural History*, or *Sylva Sylvarum*; *Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis ad condendam Philosophiam, sive Phænomena Universi*; *Indicia vera de Interpretatione Naturæ*; *Parasceve ad Historiam Naturalem et Experimentalem*; *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris*; *Historia Ventorum*; *Historia Vitæ et Mortis*; *Of the Prolongation of Life*; *Historia Densi et Rari*; *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*; *Partitio artis retinendi sive retentivæ in doctrinam de adminiculis memoriæ, et doctrinam de memoria ipsa*;<sup>\*</sup> *Historia Gravis et Levis*; *Articuli Quæstionum circa Mineralia*; *Thema Cæli*. It is to be observed, too, that as Roger Bacon had entitled his principal work, containing his proposed reform of philosophy, *Opus Majus*, or the Greater Work, manifestly with reference to his smaller detached essays, so Lord Bacon, for a

<sup>\*</sup> This is only the caption of *De Augm. Scient.*, lib. V, cap. v.

very different reason, and in a vain-glorious spirit, proposed for his complete system of reform the title of *Instauratio Magna*, and applied to its third division the name of *Partus Maximus Temporis*, a high-sounding pretension which had haunted his mind from the commencement of his career.

But we shall not lay any exaggerated stress upon the correspondence between the two lists presented, although they are separated from each other in time by an interval of three hundred and fifty years. It may be necessary for the discernment of the interdependence between them that the relations of the authors should have been previously determined by a close scrutiny of their respective doctrines and productions; and thus what is perfectly evident to us may not be in any degree apparent to those to whom the subject is still novel. The progress of our investigations may, therefore, be indispensable to the revelation of the connection subsisting between the subjects and titles selected by the two philosophers, and may reflect back upon these lists the light which it kindles with other materials. But, to show even at this stage of our inquiries, that the resemblance indicated is neither slight in itself, nor an arbitrary imagination, we will illustrate our suspicions in connection with one of the works of Lord Bacon above mentioned.

The History of Life and Death is the most elaborate and the most complete of the special investigations comprising the Third Part of the contemplated *Instauratio Magna*. The conduct and arrangement of the inquiry, and frequent intimations scattered through its pages, prove that the direct aim and intention of the author was to discover artificial means for the prolongation of human life, and to conquer by science that Elixir of Life which had so long been the dream of the Alchemists. That such was its design is evident from the language employed in the dedication, "To the Present Age and to Posterity." "For I hope, and wish, that it may conduce to a common good; and that the noble sort of physicians will advance their thoughts, and not employ their time wholly in the sordidness of cures, neither be honored for necessity only, but that they will become coadjutors and instruments of the Divine omnipotence and clemency in *prolonging* and *renewing* the life of man; especially, seeing I prescribe it to be done by safe, and convenient, and civil ways, though hitherto unassayed."\* This hope is of constant recurrence in Lord Bacon's works, though it is inconceivable how he could candidly represent it to be unassayed after the labors of the Saracens, the writings of Roger Bacon, and the experiments of the

\* Bacon's Works, vol. xiv, p. 308; vol. x, p. 109.

Alchemists. In the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum* he divides medicine into three heads; the maintenance of health, the cure of diseases, and the prolongation of life.\* In another part of the same work he asserts the possibility of discovering the means of retarding old age, and restoring any degree of youth, notwithstanding his acknowledgment of the incredibility of such achievements.† He has also prescribed medicines for the prolongation of life,‡ and the latter part of the *Historia Vitæ et Mortis* is devoted to this topic and to artificial rejuvenescence.

There are four of the works ascribed to Roger Bacon, which must have been devoted wholly or in part to this attractive investigation. These are *De Retardatione Senectutis*, probably the treatise addressed to Pope Nicholas IV.; *De Universali Regimine Senum*; *De Prolongatione Vitæ*; and *Antidotarium Vitæ Humanæ*. But our investigations are not limited to a consideration of these titles. In the last part of the *Opus Majus* we find a brief indication of the views of the Franciscan friar. "Another example of the capabilities of experimental science may be borrowed from medicine; and this is with respect to the prolongation of human life, since the art of medicine has no remedy beyond the preservation of health. But the further extension of long life is possible."§ Like Lord Bacon, he asserts that "medical writers have not given any statement of the medicines which might conduce to this result, nor are they to be found in their works, but they have confined themselves solely to the art of maintaining health."|| Like Francis Bacon, too, he alleges that "experimental science can discover methods of attaining the desired end far superior to any that had been theretofore sought."¶ If the hurried indications of Roger Bacon's brief outline be compared with the elaborate essay of his namesake, a singular agreement in the details will be discovered in the two writers. Both appeal to the longevity of the patriarchs; both refer to the remarkable vitality of certain animals; both record remarkable instances of the duration of human life; both cite the singular case of Arterphi; both attribute the weakness of old age and death to the desiccation of the body, but as this doctrine descends from Aristotle,\*\* they might both have borrowed it independently and indirectly from that source. Both recommend pearls, the bezoar stone, ambergris, rosemary, as useful medicines for the purpose

° De Augm. Scient., lib. IV, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 219.

† De Augm. Scient., lib. III, cap. v, vol. viii, p. 197.

‡ Hist. Vitæ et Mortis, vol. x, pp. 177-180.

§ Opus Majus, Pars VI, cap. xii, p. 352. Ed. Ven., 1750. || *Ib.*, 354. ¶ *Ib.*, p. 355.

° Aristot., Probl., lib. I, II, III.



contemplated; and both urge the importance of attending to the general regimen in the same particulars. The latter and longer portion of Lord Bacon's essays is, indeed, little more than an ample commentary on Friar Bacon's concise indications.\* In addition to these numerous and striking correspondences, there is a general similarity of ideas, views, and even expressions, which would be very surprising as an accidental coincidence.

Another example of similar indebtedness is furnished in the case of the rainbow. In the varied circle of the natural phenomena, there is none to which the "Lord High Chancellor of England," and "of nature," as he has been sometimes termed, more frequently recurs than to the colors of the rainbow. On every possible occasion the Iris is introduced as a thesis, or as an illustration.† Roger Bacon had preceded him in paying marked attention to this topic;‡ and, though there is considerable similarity between his explanation of its production and that offered by his successor, he has explained the phenomena more clearly and more accurately. In the course of his remarks, he shows that he had observed the properties of the reflection and refraction of light; the equality of the angles of incidence and reflection, and probably also the polarization of light.

A notable expression occurs in Lord Bacon's Topics of Inquiry concerning light, which seems almost an anticipation of the theory of the prismatic colors. He says beautifully that "every color is the broken image of light."§ It is a pregnant phrase, especially after Newton's experiments with the prism. But the expression of Roger Bacon is still more significant, when taken in connection with the context wherein it appears, and interpreted by the more modern discoveries of Young and Fresnel. After speaking of the decomposition of the solar rays into the colors of the rainbow by transmission through crystals, he adds, "*rugarum diversitas facit diversitatem coloris.*"||

While indicating, rather than demonstrating Lord Bacon's unavowed obligations to his predecessors, we may add an instance of his practice which may, perhaps, elucidate his customary procedure. He informs us that "the modes of destroying light must also be

\* Opus Majus, p. 353. "Cum enim regimen sanitatis debeat esse in cibo et potu, somno et vigilia, motu et quiete, evacuatione et retentione, aeris dispositione, et passionibus animæ, ut hæc in debito temperamento habeantur ab infantia; de his temperandis nullus homo vult curare, etiam nec medici," etc.

† De Augm. Sci., lib. II, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 91; lib. V, cap. ii, p. 269.

‡ Opus Majus, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 22; Pars VI, cc. ii-xii, pp. 338-351.

§ Bacon's Works, vol. xv, p. 84.

|| Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. ii, p. 339; et vide cap. iii, and compare Nov. Org., lib. ii, aph. xxii.



remarked; as by the exuberance of greater light, and by dense and opaque mediums. The sun's rays, certainly, falling on the flame of a fire, make the flame seem like a kind of whiter smoke."\* When this observation was employed by Lord Bacon, it must have been either vulgar and well-known, or unfamiliar. In the former case it is unnecessarily or improperly mentioned; in the latter it must have been regarded by him either as a novelty of his own detection, or as a fact noticed by others before him. Aristotle had stated that the sun's rays would extinguish fire.† Lord Bacon must have been either cognizant or ignorant of Aristotle's observation. If he was ignorant of it, he certainly had not studied Aristotle's writings with that attention which he should have bestowed before he pretended to overthrow his system, or before he launched his unseemly and inappropriate vituperations against him. If he was aware of the fact, he should not have concealed his authority in order to produce this observation as a novelty. We leave his lordship amid the boughs of this branching tree of dilemmas; he may fall from one fork to another, but on whichever he rests he is likely to meet with ultimate impalement.

Francis Bacon hazards a short disquisition on the ebb and flow of the sea, which has been mercilessly criticised by De Maistre. Roger Bacon presents a still briefer examination of the same problem.‡ The subject continued to be a favorite bait for philosophers from the days when Aristotle was fabled to have drowned himself in the Euripus from despair of explaining its tides, till the time of Euler, McLaurin, and La Place. The chancellor does not imitate the Franciscan friar, when the former leaves the moon entirely out of the question, but his refutation of the notion of elevation is apparently directed against the exposition given by his predecessor, and the conclusion finally adopted bears a very suspicious resemblance to a remark uttered by Roger.§ The explanation offered by the former fails

\* Bacon's Works, vol. xv, p. 84. † Aristot., Probl., lib III, c. xxiii, xxvi.

‡ Opus Majus, Ps. IV, Dist. iv, cap. v, pp. 63, 64.

§ Opus Majus, Ps. IV, Dist. iv, cap. v, p. 63. "Sed motus aque a motu cœli est confusus et inordinatus, et irregularis, propter hoc, quod virtus cœli primi nimis elongatur ab ejus origine," etc. Fr. Bacon, Op., vol. xv, p. 198. "We think that the motion of rotation, or of turning from east to west, is not properly a motion merely of the heavenly bodies, but manifestly of the universe, and a primary motion in all the great fluids, found to prevail from the highest part of heaven to the lowest part of the waters, in direction the same in all, in impulse, that is, in rapidity and slowness, widely different; in such wise, however, that in an order not in the least confused, (Roger Bacon had said, *confusus, et inordinatus, et irregularis*,) the rapidity is diminished as the bodies approach the globe of the earth," etc.

utterly and ridiculously, and merits the sarcasms of De Maistre;\* while that presented by the latter approximates to the truth, and needs only to be received indulgently under the inspiration of the doctrine of gravitation, for he possesses the idea of the lunar attraction, though unable to give it an appropriate name.

So far the coincidence noticed between Francis Bacon and Roger Bacon may be regarded as trivial, or may be represented as accidental. Such accidents, it is true, ought not to have occurred in the case of an author who accuses Aristotle so bitterly of having concealed and obliterated the names and services of his precursors that he might reign alone. Nevertheless, human nature is frail, and inclined to self-deception. We are willing, therefore, that no great weight should be attached to the agreements hitherto indicated; but there are other consonances which cannot be explained away by the most indulgent criticism.

Lord Bacon charges Aristotle with the crime of framing new words at pleasure, and this accusation is promptly and much more justly retorted on his lordship by De Maistre. The quaint, imaginative, innovating character of his technical vocabulary is a prominent feature of his own style. But De Maistre was entirely ignorant that these neoterisms were not always new, that they might often be traced to the writings of the Alchemists, and that they were sometimes mere repetitions of terms previously employed by Roger Bacon. This was the case frequently, and the instances in which such was the fact are exactly those which are most important and significant in the tenor of the Baconian Philosophy.

The fine expression "*magnalia naturæ*,"† to which Lord Bacon is justly partial, is found in nearly the same form in Friar Bacon, who speaks of the "*magnalia scientiarum et artium*."‡ As the word *magnalia*, however, is not uncommon in the Latin fathers, is found in the Vulgate, and is frequent in the mediæval writers of poetry and prose, it must have been familiar to the cotemporaries of Roger Bacon, and might have continued so to the times of Francis Bacon. In the Hymn to the Virgin, composed by Rufus Asterius, we find the word,

"Signa movent populos, cernunt *Magnalia cæli*."

In a hymn on the Descent of the Holy Ghost, we have

"Hæc tuba, profecta de Sion, *Magnalibus*,  
Orbem replevit Messiaë."

\* The sixth chapter of De Maistre castigates these loose speculations. Francis Bacon was no more a Copernican than Roger Bacon had been.

† De Augm. Scient., lib. III, cap. v; lib. V, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 195 and p. 275.

‡ Opus Majus, Pars II, cap. viii, p. 23.

In the more worldly poem of a cotemporary of Roger Bacon, the Philipiss of William of Brittany, we meet with it again:

Cur ego, quæ novi, proprio quæ lumine vidi,  
Non ausim magni *Magnalia* scribere Regis?

The transition is not difficult from these applications of the phrase to Roger Bacon's "*magnalia scientiarum et artium*," though it may be a step which only genius could originally make. Still easier is the further change to Lord Bacon's "*magnalia naturæ*." But the analogy of the two expressions is worthy of note, although there may be no possibility of proving, and perhaps little propriety in supposing any direct obligation in this case.

There is less uncertainty in regard to the employment of another characteristic phrase. Lord Bacon employs too frequently, and too emphatically, his *Prerogative Instances*, and these play too important a part in the *Novum Organon*, to permit any hesitation in considering this application of the term *prerogatives* as distinctly claimed to be his own. It is introduced and used in such a manner as to assure us that he considered, or wished to represent it in this light. The want of a copious index to Bacon's works to facilitate reference, and the space which would be requisite, alone prevent us from demonstrating this point by extensive quotations. It is, however, so flagrantly manifest, that it needs no proof. After all the parade which Lord Bacon makes over his prerogative instances, or rather prerogatives among instances, (*Prærogativæ Instantiarum*.) it is a little startling to read in Roger Bacon, "Experimental science has three grand prerogatives with respect to other sciences."† There is no ecclesiastical or mediæval usage to explain the common and distinctive employment of the term by the two philosophers. They both go back to its original classical signification, to its technical sense, and not to any barbarous Latinity. But Roger Bacon does no violence to that sense; he attaches to it the significance which it primitively bore, and implies by it a science which has the right to be heard in advance of all others, in consequence of its preponderant vote. Lord Bacon, though expressly referring to its primary meaning, applies it in a secondary sense by making it indicate simply those instances which have a special preference over others. After illustrating the First Prerogative of Experimental Science, Roger Bacon proceeds

° These quotations are borrowed from Du Cange, Gloss. Med. and Inf. Latin: sub voce, *Magnalia*.

† *Opus Majus*, Pars VI, cap. ii, p. 338. See Hallam's *Middle Ages*, chap. ix, pt. II, vol. ii, p. 490. 9th English edition.

to give two examples of its Second Prerogative.\* Certainly the *Exempla Prærogativæ* are sufficiently analogous to the *Prærogativæ Instantiarum* to justify the belief that the one phrase was borrowed from the other. This conviction is strengthened by the consideration that the usage in both instances is unfamiliar and similar, though not identical; that they are employed in a similar connection; and that they occur in works and systems of philosophy singularly cognate.

Roger Bacon frequently indulges in expressions that seem to be only echoed in the pregnant, sententious, poetic, and aphoristic style of Francis Bacon. He speaks of the "*arcana naturæ et artis*;" of the "*secreta naturæ et artis complentis naturam*."† These phrases ring in our ears like the magnificent gems of Lord Bacon, and seem almost stolen from him. "Some things," says Roger, "have the beauty of knowledge combined with other utilities."‡ "Truth, therefore, and utility are perfectly identical," says Francis, "and the effects are of more value as pledges of truth than from the benefit they confer on man."§ Here is a fine sentiment from the friar: "We gladly taste of the tree of knowledge of good and evil; but we are unwilling to eat of the tree of life, that we may embrace the dignity of virtue for the sake of future happiness."|| Then turn to the still more beautiful sentiment of the chancellor: "From the lust of power the angels fell, and men from the lust of knowledge; but of charity there is no excess, and neither angel nor man was ever imperiled thereby."¶ We may also fitly compare the *Philosophia Prima* of Lord Bacon with the *Scientia divinarum* or *Theologia perfecta* of the friar.\*\*

The resemblances, indeed, between the two authors increase in number as they increase in importance. There is an occasional agreement in subjects and titles between their separate treatises and parts of treatises; there is a more intimate correspondence in their employment of particular words; the examples of coincident phrases are still more frequent; the recurrence of similar ideas is even more obvious; but the general procedure and the characteristic

\* Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. xii, p. 352. Capitulum de Secunda Prærogativa scientiæ experimentalis. Exemplum I. II.

† Opus Majus, Ps. I, cap. x, p. 11.

‡ Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. xii, p. 358.

§ Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. CXXIV, vol. ix. p. 276.

|| Opus Majus, Ps. III, p. 35.

¶ Pref. Instaur. Magna, vol. ix, p. 161, and note De Augm. Sci., lib. VII, cap. i, vol. viii, p. 390.

\*\* De Augm. Sci., lib. III, cap. i, vol. viii, p. 152, 153. Opus Majus, Pars II, cap. viii, p. 30.

doctrines of the two philosophers are so nearly identical, as well as their aims, that one must have copied from the other. Chronology decides which is the original.

In Jebb's catalogue of the works attributed to Roger Bacon are mentioned, one book, *De Causis Ignorantiæ Humanæ*, one *De Impedimentis Sapientiæ*, and two *De Utilitate Scientiarum*. These, he thinks, may all be recognized in the First and Second Books of the *Opus Majus*, and there is every reason to admit the correctness of his opinion. These opening books of the Greater Work are succeeded by others which treat separately of all the sciences then known, explaining their capacities, indicating their uses, and suggesting the ameliorations which they admitted. The whole is concluded by a part devoted to the illustration of the principles, character, and excellence of the experimental method, which is advocated throughout. Lord Bacon did not live to complete his vast designs; but the outlines of his system are drawn in the *Advancement of Learning*; and two parts of it are completed and filled up in the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and the *Novum Organon*.\* The other parts of the *Instauratio Magna*, which were never finished, were only amplifications and practical applications of his doctrine, corresponding with the intermediate parts of Roger Bacon's work. If the *Advancement of Learning*, or the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and the *Novum Organon*, be compared with the *Opus Majus*, the methods and order contemplated by the two Bacons will appear virtually the same. Both descant upon the dignity and benefits of learning; both devote themselves assiduously to the exposure of the obstacles to true knowledge, and to the causes of ignorance or false knowledge among men; and both take a survey of the whole field of science, present and prospective, and propose experimentation as the remedy for defects, and the means of further improvement.

When we descend from generalities to details, the resemblance is more remarkable. At the commencement of the Second Book of the *Advancement of Learning*,† Lord Bacon dedicates his Essay to James I., speaks humbly of himself, and invokes the royal co-operation in carrying the proposed reform of science into effect. He dwells upon the necessity of ampler academical and other public institutions, and expresses the confident hope that what is

\* We cannot regard the Second Book of the *Novum Organon*, however, otherwise than as a merely provisional sketch, intended to be enlarged, modified, corrected, and perhaps superseded, but not finished.

† Bacon's Works, vol. ii, pp. 89-100; vol. viii, pp. 75-87. We prefer quoting from the *De Augm. Scientiarum*.

beyond private means and private abilities to accomplish, will be achieved by the combination of labor and the exertions of successive generations. Roger Bacon addresses himself to the pope at the close of the First Book of the *Opus Majus*,\* invites his assistance, that the multitude, guided by his munificence, may prosecute the great enterprise with energy and success. He says: “\* \* \* non tamen credat Serenitas Vestra, quod ego \* \* \* indignus sub umbra Gloriæ Vestræ suscitem aliquam super facto studii molestiam: sed ut mensa Domini ferculis sapientibus cumulata, ego pauperculus micas mihi colligam decedentes.” Lord Bacon exclaims: “\* \* \* cum me comparo et accingor, non sum nescius quantum opus moveam, quamque difficilem provinciam sustineam; etiam quam sint vires minime voluntati pares; attamen magnam in spem venio, si ardentior meus erga litteras amor me longius provexerit, usurum me excusatione affectus; quia non simul cuiquam conceditur, Amare et Sapere.”† Again, Roger Bacon looks forward with hope to the results of future investigation, and to the achievements of posterity. “Quod si non est temporis vestri omnia apud vulgum consummare, poterit Vestra Magnificencia locare fundamenta, fontes eruere, radices figere, ut Vestræ Serenitatis successores, quod feliciter inceptum fuerit, valeant feliciter adimplere.” Let the whole tenor of Francis Bacon’s Dedication to James I. be compared with this remark, and then let particular attention be paid to these remarks of the chancellor’s: “Circa postremum de impossibilitate ita statuo; ea omnia possibilia et præstabilia censenda quæ ab aliquibus perfici possint, licet non a quibusvis; et quæ a multis conjunctum, licet non ab uno; et quæ in successione sæculorum licet non eodem ævo; et denique quæ publica cura et sumptu licet, non opibus et industria singulorum.”

The firm conviction of Lord Bacon in the ultimate success of the reform heralded by him, and the lofty enthusiasm of that conviction, breathe through the whole course of his writings. These traits are so indelibly impressed upon his pages that it would be useless and tedious to exemplify them by quotations. But the same generous confidence, combined with the utmost personal humility, is manifested on several occasions by the friar. “Let us freely tolerate,” says he,‡ “the introduction of investigations which kindly minister to truth, because truth will always prevail, though not without a struggle, until Antichrist and his precursors appear. For the goodness of God is ever ready to multiply the gift of

\* *Opus Majus*, Pars I, c. xvi, pp. 16, 17.

† *De Augm. Scient.*, lib. II, vol. viii, p. 86.

‡ *Opus Majus*, Pars I, cap. ix, p. 11.



knowledge through the succession of generations, and to transform for the better the opinions of the new ages." He adds: "Later times have in some points corrected Aristotle, and greatly extended his discoveries; and this extension will proceed even to the end of the world, because in human inventions there is nothing perfect or complete."\* The idea contained in these extracts is not original with "the admirable doctor;" it is found in the *Natural Questions* of Seneca, which were in his hands,† and were a common text-book in the Middle Ages. It had been the common-place of philosophers before the times of Lord Bacon;‡ for the reformation of philosophy had already become, not merely a vague anticipation, but the avowed object of numerous tentatives. If it should be discovered that Lord Bacon has borrowed or imitated the utterance, the sentiments, the style, the expressions, and the doctrines of the Franciscan monk, it would be still easier to prove that he had levied heavy contributions, without acknowledgment, upon the other reformers less remote from his own times.§ This point we may have the opportunity of illustrating incidentally.

## ART. II.—BRITISH METHODISM AND SLAVERY:

### AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE INFLUENCE OF METHODISM IN EFFECTING THE CHRISTIAN WORK OF EMANCIPATION.

By WILLIAM J. SHREWSBURY, Twenty Years a Wesleyan Missionary.

METHODISM has been characterized by an eminent Scotch divine as "Christianity in earnest." The justness of that high eulogium cannot fail to be manifest to every one who candidly examines the labors of the Wesleys and of their coadjutors, whose lives

\* *Opus Majus*, Pars II, cap. viii, p. 27.

† *Opus Majus*, Pars III, p. 36. "Et nos sumus filii et successores sanctorum et sapientum philosophorum, ut Boethii, Senecæ, Tullii, Varronis, et aliorum sapientum usque ad hæc ultima tempora."

‡ So Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum*, cap. C: "non solum hæc scientiæ et artes, sed et hæc litteræ et characteres quibus utunur peribunt, et resurgent alio, et fortasse jam sæpius extinctæ fuerunt, et sæpius iterum resurrexerunt." Vide Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.*, lib. VIII, c. xxv, §§ 4, 5; c. xxx, § 5.

§ Morhofius, *Polyhistor*, Ps. I, lib. II, cap. iv, § 14, tom. I, p. 345, says: "non pauci etiam barbara illa ætate fuerunt, quibus his similia, quæ Verulamius proponit, in mentem venerunt."



were spent in spreading, not unimportant theories or systems, but "Scriptural holiness," throughout the world. That was their avowed object; and in prosecuting it they considered themselves as "debtors both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise;" and when Providence set before them an open door, they sought alike the salvation of the bond and of the free. Nor would it be difficult to show that there is a striking agreement between the rise and progress of Christianity in the beginning, and of Methodism in later times, as to their principles, operations, and results. For Methodism is simply Christianity revived, and adapting its agencies and appliances to the existing moral necessities of mankind. Spiritual in its principles and direct aims, it carries along with it energies that produce collateral and consequential benefits and blessings on the civil condition and temporal interests of men. In no part of its history is this more apparent than in its bearing on the great work of elevating from slavery to freedom the hereditary bondmen of the British empire.

It is well known how early Christianity brought its healing balm to the slaves of ancient nations, and became to them, as "to all people, glad tidings of great joy." Paul and his fellow helpers gathered them into the Church of Christ; and effectually, yet unostentatiously, and without offense, acknowledged them as a part of the Christian family, and as equal members of its spiritual rights and privileges. Their successors were of the same spirit. Ignatius, one of the fathers, has a striking passage, showing how sacredly the slave population were cared for, especially in regard to marriage, a point in which modern slavery is awfully criminal. Describing the duty of a bishop, Ignatius says, that "it is required of him to speak to each member of the Church separately, to seek out all by name, *even the slaves of both sexes*, and to advise *every one of the flock in the affair of marriage*." By thus infusing Christian principles and laws throughout the minds of men of every rank and condition, and by laying a good foundation in domestic virtue, Christianity prepared the way for universal freedom; and gradually, but successfully, abolished the degradation of serfdom in various regions. In like manner, Methodism first proclaimed salvation from sin to all men, bond or free; and having by that means, with other churches, prepared the way, with them it then wrought out the magnificent scheme of emancipation, and restored the slave to the common rights of mankind.

In tracing this matter historically, it will be seen that at the beginning, and for a considerable period after, the action of Methodism on slavery was indirect, and not positive or legislative; and

that civil freedom was rather the *result* than the *design* of those who "preached the gospel to the poor." Their great aim cannot be better expressed than in the glowing missionary language of Dr. Coke, in his work on the West Indies :

"To meet, in a world of spirits, thousands of our negro brethren, who shall have happily escaped from the corruptions of their own hearts, and the miseries which result from guilt, through the merits of that Saviour whose infinite love we have been made instrumental in communicating, must be a source of joy which we have not language sufficiently energetic to express, and which will submit to no description. The arduous task imposes silence on me; and my powers are absorbed in the pleasing contemplation. I anticipate the scene with an ecstasy that overwhelms me. I sink beneath the pressure of that glory which is too exalted to be told, and too dazzling to be pursued; and humbly join my prayers to yours who are friends to this mission, that 'we may be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as we know that our labor shall not be in vain in the Lord.'"

But though emancipation was not contemplated, or even thought of, by the earlier missionaries, yet, as a consequence, it was inevitable; for the gospel of Christ will produce its own fruits in every land. The eloquent remarks of the late Rev. Richard Watson are pertinent on this subject :

"Christianity found a great portion of society in the civilized world, to which it was first communicated, in a state of absolute servitude; but it neither sanctioned the practice of slavery, nor directly abrogated it. It taught men duties suitable to the circumstances in which it found them. It gave no plans of civil government, nor systems of political regulation. It taught all men mercy, justice, peace, sobriety, diligence, and brotherly love; and left those great principles gradually to work that amelioration in the civil state and relations of society in which all would be equally interested. By this model the Methodist missionaries have been directed to conduct themselves in the West Indies; and if, indeed, the indirect and ultimate effect of the Christianity they preach should be the same as (that of) the Christianity of the first ages, with which they hope it accords; if there should be in it a principle averse to slavery, and in its issue destructive of it, a position which the friends of missions do not affect to deny; yet it is to be recollected, that the modern missionaries are not, on this account, any more than the primitive preachers of Christianity, political characters; that their objects are still purely religious; that any objections to them on probable ultimate results, lie with equal force against Christianity itself, and against all missionaries who teach it, to whatever denomination they may belong."—*Defense of Missions.*

Elsewhere he says :

"Christianity must destroy modern bondage, as it destroyed the slavery existing in ancient Europe. For though, in states very partially Christianized, slavery may continue, as one of many evils not yet fully reached by the remedy; yet, when the mass of a community is leavened by its influence, the subjection of man to man, as a slave, must cease. The reason of this is, that our religion, on the principle of its own two great social laws, to love

our neighbor as ourselves, and to do to others as we would have them do to us, makes it an imperative duty to render every man's condition as felicitous as the present mixed state of things, where the rich and the poor must still exist, and toil and suffering cannot be excluded, will allow. Slavery is a blot which cannot remain amid the glories of Messiah's reign."

For the sake of distinctness in our review, it may be well to divide Methodism into three periods. The first may be reckoned from its origin to the formation of the first negro societies; then, to the abolition of the slave-trade; and finally, from that abolition to the extinction of slavery. The first period reaches from 1739 to 1760; the second from 1760 to 1807; and the third from 1807 to 1834.

First period.—Mr. Wesley dates the rise of Methodism from "the latter end of the year 1739, when eight or ten persons came to him in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption." Their number soon increased, and in two or three years, many in a similar state of mind were collected together in several other places. For their benefit and guidance, a few simple rules were published so early as May 1, 1743, and signed by the two brothers, John and Charles Wesley. Though simple and brief, they are very complete and efficient; and, in fact, they are the basis of Methodistic legislation in every part of the world. Nothing is sound in the economy of Methodism that is inconsistent with the spirit or letter of those comprehensive rules; which is to be attributed, not so much to the wisdom of the framers, as to their piety, in adhering closely to the written word. "These," say they, "are the General Rules of our societies; all of which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice." Now slavery is a system inimical to those rules; you cannot consistently graft it on any of them, whether classed under the general heading of "doing no harm, avoiding evil of every kind;" or, of "doing good, being in every kind merciful after our power;" such rules, honestly observed, would work out the extinction of slavery. This is a great truth, and a mighty Methodistic argument; it is not the less forcible because it is incidental, and was never so applied before. We must not lose sight of this starting point in reviewing the influence of Methodism on slavery; for these rules will never tolerate it, unless men be so circumstanced as to be unavoidably prevented from extricating themselves at once from all connection with so complicated a system of evils. But even while it lasts, as masters and servants in the Methodist societies, as was the case in the West Indies, being placed under *the same code of laws*, the rules, to some

extent, exerted an ameliorating influence, and practically prepared the way for freedom; and they remain the permanent laws for all parties now that emancipation is accomplished. Mr. Wesley's rules supposed freedom, and were made for free men; there never was a *separate slave code* in Methodism.

But prior to the existence of those excellent rules, to the spirit and bearing of which our entire ecclesiastical arrangements in our conferences must be conformed, in order to their being constitutional, we find the Rev. John Wesley himself actually an instructor of slaves. On his way to Georgia he heard something of the condition of negro slaves from Bishop Nitschman, who had been concerned in the establishment of a Moravian mission among the negroes. We may suppose that this occurrence was the first thing that drew his attention to that afflicted race; although, as his special mission was to the Indians, he had no opportunity of immediately preaching to them the Gospel of the kingdom. But in his Journal of July 31, 1736, he writes as follows:

"We came to Charleston. *Next day* about three hundred persons were present at the morning service, when Mr. Garden, the minister, desired me to preach. *I was glad to see several negroes at church*; one of whom told me she was there constantly, and that her old mistress (now dead) had many times instructed her in the Christian religion. O God, where are thy tender mercies? Are they not over all thy works? When shall the Sun of Righteousness arise on these outcasts of men with healing in his wings?"

Here we have the first Wesleyan prayer on record in behalf of slaves! How tender, how pathetic! It was connected, too, with preaching the Gospel to them. What a foreshadowing of the care of Methodism for men in bonds! Nor should the date be unnoticed. John Wesley preached his first sermon to slaves *on the first of August*, and it was in that same month, and on that same day of the month, ninety-eight years after, Britain bade her slaves be free. Then his prayer was fulfilled, and on that morning "the Sun of Righteousness arose on those outcasts of men with healing in his wings."

Shortly after, we find Mr. Wesley a private teacher, we might almost say a class-leader, to a negro. He says on the 23d of April, 1737:

"I met with a young female negro at Carolina, born in Barbadoes. The attention with which this poor creature listened to instruction is inexpressible. The next day she remembered all, readily answered every question, and said that she would ask Him that made her, to show her how to be good."

Next we find him itinerating, that he might preach, not in a church, but on a plantation:

"April 27. At Mr. Belinger's plantation I met with a half-caste Indian and several negroes, who were very desirous of instruction. One of them said: 'Though I am so lame I cannot walk, yet if there was any church within five or six miles I would crawl thither.'"

Mr. Wesley then adds, and the words are remarkable, for he might be here sketching an outline for the future guidance of West India missionaries:

"Perhaps one of the easiest and shortest ways to instruct the American negroes in Christianity would be, first, To inquire after and find out some of the most serious of the planters. Then, having inquired of them which of their slaves were best inclined, to go to them from plantation to plantation, staying as long as appeared necessary at each. Three or four gentlemen of Carolina I have been with, that would be sincerely glad of such an assistant, who might pursue his work with no more hinderances than must everywhere attend the preaching of the gospel."

From this quotation, it is highly gratifying to find that some of the planters were friendly to godliness, and desirous of having their negroes instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; and that they would be ready to afford facilities, and not oppose obstructions, to any minister who might engage in so good a work. It is only fair to testify that in most slave countries there have been gentlemen similarly disposed, although this fact has been sometimes too much lost sight of in the heat of public controversies. The last mention of negro teaching he gives in the following extracts; he was then on his voyage to England: "December 26, 1737. I began instructing a negro lad in the principles of Christianity." And again: "January 8, 1738. I began to read and explain some passages of the Bible to the young negro. The next morning another negro who was on board desired to be a hearer too." These are the first instances on record in which Methodism, in the person of its founder himself, came in contact with slavery; and we see that its influence was wholly of a religious character, similar to that which was afterward exerted by the Wesleyan missionaries who labored among colonial slaves. Nothing is said by him concerning their social condition. His brother Charles, who was in the country at the same time, speaks in terms of strongest indignation in his *Journal*, of certain horrid cruelties that he had both heard of and seen. But John Wesley does not seem to have met with anything of the kind; his intercourse lay with milder men, who were sincerely desirous of the welfare of their slaves; for beside Mr. Belinger, already noticed, he mentions, in his "*Thoughts on Slavery*," one Hugh Bryan, whom he knew, and extols, though a large master of slaves, as a man of high benevolence and virtue. By comparing these accounts, we shall perceive that Methodism,

from the beginning, exercised a wise discrimination; and this has marked its proceedings in every stage of its operations on slavery. It was willing to allow that in some instances men were better than the system; and that the considerate humanity of some worthy masters kept its hideous evils in abeyance, and made the condition of the slave not only tolerable, but in some respects comfortable. It was by adducing such cases, the truth of which no honorable opponent would wish to deny or conceal, that the planters endeavored to prove that the negroes were better off than many of the hard-working laborers in the free cities of Europe. But still the slave had no legal security as to the continuance of such advantages, nor, in fact, any *legal right* to them at all; everything depended on the sole will of one man, on the preservation of that kind master's life; and on his prosperity, so as not to be compelled to indemnify his losses by trenching on the comforts allowed his slaves. In the beginning, however, of Methodistic operations for the benefit of the enslaved, far less was known about their civil condition than in subsequent years.

When the Wesleys returned from Georgia and Carolina to England, they seem to have lost sight of the slave population, in the multiplicity of labors in their own country. For full twenty years after, Methodism had no kind of connection with a slave community. But about that time, Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq., who was speaker of the House of Assembly, in the Island of Antigua, and owner of two large plantations, visited England for the benefit of his health, taking with him two or three of his negro servants. This was some ten years before the decision of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield (for which we are indebted to the legal knowledge and untiring activity of Granville Sharpe) settled it forever as the law of the land, that a slave on touching British soil is free, even though he were in the colonies legally a slave. Mr. Gilbert heard the Rev. John Wesley preach on Kennington Common, and became deeply concerned for the salvation of his soul. He invited Mr. Wesley to his house, and from that time an intimacy and correspondence was maintained till Mr. Gilbert's death. In his Journal, January 17, 1758, Mr. Wesley writes:

"I preached at Wandsworth. A gentleman come from America [he means from the West Indies] has again opened a door in that desolate place. In the morning I preached in Mr. Gilbert's house. Two negro servants of his and a mulatto appeared to be much awakened. Shall not His saving health be made known to all nations?"

Again, November 29, 1758, (that is, ten months later:)



"I rode to Wandsworth, and *baptized* two negroes belonging to Mr. Gilbert, a gentleman lately come from Antigua. One of these is deeply convinced of sin, the other rejoices in God her Saviour, and *is the first African Christian I have known.*"

We mark this last clause because of its weightiness in regard to the future of Methodism. "Surely a little one hath since become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation; the Lord hath hastened it in his time."

Thus it appears, that as Mr. Wesley preached to slaves in America long before Methodist missionaries were sent to them, so he himself baptized the earliest converts of that class, and received them into his society in England. And what is more remarkable still, the master and slaves were made partakers of the same grace by his instrumentality, and in their master's house; so that Mr. Wesley's position in regard to Mr. Gilbert was somewhat analogous to that of Paul to Philemon. Mr. Wesley did not discuss with him the general question of freedom or slavery; indeed, it does not seem to have occurred to their mind on either side. All parties were so intent on securing salvation, that a secondary matter, however important, entered not into their calculations. Nor shall we probably err if we conclude that at that time a providential direction was given to the current of their thoughts, whereby hostility was not provoked by premature debates, which might have formed a barrier to that blessed sphere of missionary operations which God was about to open in the West Indies. The germinant principle of freedom was left to grow up under the shadow of the Gospel; and it was effectually, though incidentally, guarded by those excellent Rules, which equally applied to Gilbert and his slaves as members of "the United Society" of "the people called Methodists."

On returning to Antigua Mr. Gilbert and his servants carried with them that true godliness which they had obtained in England. And now for the first time, Methodism, as a system, began to take root in a slave soil, and in the midst of a slave population. In the West Indies, as in England, the Methodists attended service in the Established Church. But there being no service in the church on the afternoon of the Sabbath, Mr. Gilbert expounded the Scriptures to his own domestic household, and allowed such of his neighbors as desired to join with them. He next proceeded a step further, and preached the Gospel to the slaves on his own plantations. About the same time his brother Francis became converted to God, and was made useful at St. John's, the capital of the island, where he resided, and probably formed the first society. Of their proceedings Mr. Gilbert informed Mr. Wesley from time to time, who



published some of his letters in the *Arminian Magazine*. The first of these is dated May 10, 1760, which Mr. Wesley designates "A copy of a Letter from Antigua, giving an Account of the Dawn of a Gospel Day." Of the slaves Mr. Wesley had baptized, Gilbert says: "My negro woman, Bessy, whom you baptized at Wandsworth, has been kept ever since, and is still able to rejoice in God." September 18, 1764, Mr. Gilbert writes of the society as having been then some time established. "When my brother," says he, "left this island, I determined to meet this people twice or thrice a week; but after meeting them a few times, I was hindered by sickness. Before I had entirely recovered I went twice to St. John's, where I stayed several days each time, and endeavored to get a house, and designed to continue meeting the society three times a week." But, fearing his own incompetency, he informs Mr. Wesley that he had relinquished that purpose; he adds, however: "The members meet among themselves thrice a week; and, as far as I can understand, they are going on much in the same manner as when my brother left them." Within that society were raised up two or three individuals of considerable ability as class-leaders, who were instrumental in keeping the society together, and even increasing it, till more efficient provisions could be made for their spiritual necessities. This did not take place till after Mr. Gilbert's death; but the labors of that good man, and his brother, had been the means of gathering two hundred souls into the fold of Methodism, the greater portion of them being of the colored and slave population.

Here we may pause, to dwell upon a fact which some might wish to conceal from any particular observation. But historic truth requires us to mark the instrumentality which God chose to employ in the introduction of Methodism into the West India Isles. A planter and slaveholder was himself the first preacher, and, with his brother, the founder of the first society; a great part of them were his own slaves; and as there was no missionary during his lifetime, he was in some sort their spiritual overseer or bishop, on whom they chiefly depended for guidance in the way to heaven. However ardently any one may love freedom and hate slavery, still no intensity of feeling or strength of party should induce a distortion of undoubted facts; for fairness and candor will most effectually win over opponents to the cause of liberty and truth. What Mr. Wesley remarks of the vehement Reformer, John Knox, may be here applied to the excellent Mr. Gilbert. God did not employ him to do good *because* he was a slaveholder, but he made him useful, *notwithstanding* he occupied such an objectionable position in relation to his fellow-men. He certainly was a gentleman of high respect-

ability, of sincere piety, of disinterested benevolence, and greatly beloved by his slaves, which says much for his worth; and though more than *seventy years* have passed away since his decease, his name and memory are revered in Antigua to the present day. Nor is it a little remarkable that as a slaveholder introduced, so far as Methodism is concerned, the Gospel which undermines slavery; so, when emancipation came, the slave masters of that same island were the most forward to accept it; the Legislature of Antigua assigned as a reason for immediate emancipation, that missionary teaching had well prepared the slaves of that island for freedom. We are thus brought to the conclusion of the first period, the formation of a society, chiefly of slaves, about the year 1760. One fact more, remotely connected with this period, is worthy of being preserved from oblivion. On some unknown occasion, the Rev. George Whitefield had been led to visit the island of Bermuda, where he preached a few sermons. Some years ago a very aged member of the Methodist Society, who was then awakened under Whitefield's ministry, died in peace, and gave to the missionary stationed there a frequent account of her conversion through the instrumentality of that servant of God. The precise date of Whitefield's preaching in Bermuda is not mentioned; but probably it was before Gilbert had heard Mr. Wesley in England. He sowed the seed, and left for the continent; and Methodism, many years afterward, gathered in some of the fruit of his labors.

II. We now proceed to the second period of nearly half a century; from the formation of the first society in a slave community to the abolition of the slave-trade, extending from 1760 to 1807. To exhibit clearly the growing influence of Methodism on the anti-slavery movement in so large a portion of time, it will be necessary to incorporate a few events that properly belong to America, while the United States were British colonies.

We have seen that the Rev. John Wesley preached to slaves on that continent in 1736. It does not appear that his brother Charles ever had an opportunity of instructing them, deep as were his sympathies for that oppressed race. But of Mr. Whitefield in 1740 it is remarked, that "an incredible number of people flocked to hear him, among whom were abundance of negroes." His ministry prepared the way for the large success which, thirty years afterward, attended Methodist preachers on that continent, both among "the bond and free." Indeed, they only entered upon their work in America a few months before his removal to heaven. And though there was no direct connection between them and Whitefield's converts, yet, as they traveled to a great extent among the same popu-

lation, the general effect of Whitefield's preaching must have caused the earlier Methodist preachers to find in those parts "a people prepared for the Lord." Boardman and Pilmoor landed in 1769, and Whitefield died in 1770. And though no joint action was intended either by them or Mr. Wesley, the Head of the Church ordained that appointment in infinite wisdom, that his word might the more abundantly have "free course, and be glorified" in the land.

Between the years 1756 and 1760, if not earlier, several Methodists had emigrated from England and Ireland to the continental colonies. About the latter date, and while Methodism was being introduced into Antigua, two men in youth emigrated from Ireland, to whom was assigned the honor of forming the two first societies in America; Philip Embury, at New-York, and Robert Strawbridge, in Maryland. Thus Methodism struck its roots in a free soil, and in a slave territory, at nearly the same time, although priority is generally given to New-York.\* The Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, recently deceased, and who was the oldest minister in the Wesleyan connection, gives in a written account Hembury instead of Embury, as the true orthography of the name of the former of those excellent men; and affirms that, at the time he emigrated, his name stood on the Minutes of the Irish Conference as a candidate for the itinerant ministry.† It is said that the small society which he gathered together "consisted of his own countrymen and the citizens." It was not long, however, before the first ministers sent out by Mr. Wesley had to rejoice in the conversion of some of the sable sons of Ham to the knowledge of Christ. In his first communication to Mr. Wesley, November 4, 1769, Boardman writes: "The number of blacks that attend the preaching affects me much." This was in the city of New-York; so that whether those blacks were slaves or free, does not appear; probably they were of both classes, as slavery then existed in the Northern colonies. Pilmoor, who had been left at Philadelphia, "proceeded to Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, where he preached with considerable success, forming societies in various parts, and witnessing the happy effects resulting from the mission in which he was engaged." Here, Methodism from the commencement must have exerted an ameliorating influence on the condition of the slaves; for that benefit is inseparable from the earliest reception of the Gospel.

In a subsequent letter of Mr. Boardman, New-York, April 2, 1771, we have a paragraph of more than ordinary interest. He says:

\* Both were at that time slave territory.—ED. METH. QU. REV.

† Mr. Embury's own autograph is extant in this country, authorizing the ordinary orthography as unquestionably correct.—ED. METH. QU. REV.

"I have lately been much comforted by the death of some poor negroes, who have gone off the stage of time rejoicing in the God of their salvation. I asked one on the point of death, Are you afraid to die? 'O no,' said she; 'I have my blessed Saviour in my heart; I should be glad to die; I want to be gone, that I may be with him forever. I know that he loves me; and I feel I love him with all my heart.' She continued to declare the great things God had done for her soul, to the astonishment of many, till the Lord took her to himself."

This is the first happy death of the negro race in the annals of Methodism, and is probably the first received by Mr. Wesley; though Mr. Gilbert from Antigua had informed him of the peaceful end of some who moved in the higher walks of life. But whatever success may have attended the earliest Methodist preachers in the conversion of the negroes to Christ, from some unexplained reason they were not enrolled as members of society. For Dr. Coke says: "About 1776, the number of members in America amounted to seven thousand, and the preachers to forty. The blacks also had received the good word of life; and great numbers among them had experienced that it was the power of God to the salvation of their souls; *but these are not included in the above account.*" In this respect there was a deviation from the more correct procedure of Methodism in the West Indies, where the slave members were reckoned from the beginning. Probably the unsettled state of the country, owing to the war of Independence, occasioned it. Before that great event, six preachers had been sent out from England; the two first were joined by Asbury and Wright, and they were followed by Rankin and Shadford. None of the six had been on the continent previous to their ministerial appointments except Mr. Rankin, who, "when a young man, and soon after his conversion, went out to Charleston," it seems, on some mercantile business; but he soon returned, and entered the Wesleyan ministry. It does not appear that the English preachers interfered with the civil condition of the slaves, or made any communications to Mr. Wesley or the conference concerning it. The influence of Methodism was wholly thus far of a spiritual kind, bringing many of the poor slaves to experience salvation; but it could not place them under that equal and equitable ecclesiastical regimen contained in the Rules while they were not acknowledged as *members* of "the United Society;" who are one in spiritual rights and privileges all the world over. In regard to outward things, its chief action was on the mind of the masters, inducing them, in proportion to the power of religion which they felt in their own hearts, to exercise as large an amount of equity and kindness toward their servants as a state of slavery would admit.

When the war terminated the venerable Asbury alone was found in America. Guided by an upright conscience, and by an unseen

hand, his five brethren returned to England; and, equally guided by an upright conscience, and by an unseen hand, he still remained: for, in certain critical and difficult positions, the path of duty may not always to godly men be, or appear to be, the same. God directed them! If all had remained, the loyalty of Methodism might have been impeached at home; if none had tarried, who should have looked after the desolate sheep in the wilderness? Diversity of judgment in this matter, one only continuing in the States, facilitated Mr. Wesley's subsequent arrangements for the ecclesiastical settlement of Methodism in America. Asbury formed a resolution, says Drew, in his life of Dr. Coke, "to have no concern with political opinions;" and he was sheltered for two years in a quiet retreat, till the storm had blown over. He had previously often preached "in the villages, and on the slave plantations." And afterward "his own black servant, Harry," was encouraged by him to preach; for which service, Dr. Coke, who several times heard him, testifies, that "he had considerable abilities." This was, perhaps, the first instance in Methodism of a man of that race preaching in the midst of a slave community. Herein Methodism in America was, at that time, certainly in advance of Methodism in the West Indies. Even if he were a free man, it was a repudiation of that prejudice of caste and color which is so predominant in the lands of slavery; a prejudice not shared by Asbury. When the commotions settled down, it was in the slave state of Maryland that Methodist preachers were first allowed to exercise their ministry without further interruption; an act to that effect passed the Legislature, even though the preachers should have conscientious scruples about taking an oath of allegiance to the newly created government. This might anywhere be done; for godly and conscientious men, whatever their opinions, will never make political disturbance. Nevertheless, it was highly honorable to Maryland, and was a strong expression of the confidence of a slave-holding community in the integrity of Methodist preachers, and in the peaceableness of their doctrines among a slave population. The Gospel soon had an extensive spread, and extraordinary revivals of religion took place in Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia; and that, at several times; insomuch that Asbury on one occasion remarked, that while much spiritual deadness prevailed in the North, in the slave states there were overwhelming manifestations of Divine grace and power. The masses of the white people seem to have been very generally wrought upon by the preaching of the Gospel.

One might here inquire, was not this a fit time for Methodism—

the united Methodism of Britain and America—to interpose on behalf of the liberation of the slaves? That is a question more easily asked than answered, however promptly some might reply in the affirmative. Good men in America would have been afraid of evoking a temporal excitement that might be dangerous to the spiritual work then in progress; and certain it is, that British Methodists were so much taken up with the account of conversions to God by hundreds, not to say thousands, that it did not occur to their thoughts to offer any suggestions for the emancipation of those who were in bondage. In truth, it was for many years pretty much the same, with regard to our mission in the West Indies. Mr. Watson's observation, "No man can be concerned for the spiritual welfare of the negro, without caring also for his temporal condition," is correct, *when that condition is prominently set before the mind*: but for all that, it is no less a matter of fact that, for a long season, nothing directly bearing on the civil state of the slaves was attempted; and chiefly for the reason that the hearts of pious people were almost exclusively engrossed with a concern for their salvation. Their outward lot seemed to have been generally regarded as a kind of settled condition, and the Gospel their only solace in this world, as well as the means of preparing them for the world to come. There was, however, this wide difference in the two cases. In the West Indies, the masses who were brought to receive salvation by the missionaries were slaves; the white people in our societies were scarcely in the proportion of one to a hundred; whereas, in those great revivals in the slave states of America, the whites seem to have been the largest sharers in its benefits: a course of action, therefore, that would have been fitting in one case might have been inexpedient in the other; even supposing that the public mind were at that time alive to the claims of Christian benevolence and duty. But we, who live in an age of clearer light, ought not to be severe in our reproaches of those of earlier generations. Nevertheless, much as we desire to avoid the imputation of blame, it must be a source of deep regret to call to mind that such glorious visitations of grace were permitted to pass away without any attempt to remove this stumbling-block, which is now seen to be so great an occasion of scandal in the world.

It requires, however, prudence of the highest kind on the part of those who preach the word of life in a slave region, so to observe the exact line of duty, as neither to compromise the principles of the Gospel on the one hand, nor, on the other hand, so to intermeddle with the civil state of society as to exasperate evil passions and prejudices, and thereby neutralize, or even nullify the great spiritual



objects of their mission. There is a Christian expediency which is wise and right, as well as a worldly expediency which is unprincipled and wrong. The position in which some men are providentially placed, requires in them that they should follow a particular course of action, which, as it is not in itself sinful, is allowable for the sake of usefulness; in order that, in the sense intended by the apostle, they "may become all things to all men, that by all means they may save some" of every class and of every opinion. The history of Methodism at this period will elucidate this matter; and it is the more worthy of special notice, because it seems to have modified the course of proceeding in the conducting of our West Indian mission.

About the time of those great revivals of religion in America, there were two eminent men connected with it, the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, and Dr. Thomas Coke, who was Mr. Wesley's right hand; and who, for a considerable portion of his life, in carrying out the work of Methodism, belonged equally to England and America. Both were determined enemies of slavery. They never patronized it; on the contrary, they did not fail to declare their aversion to the system as evil and unjust; and so far, every Christian missionary may, and ought to concur with them. But they did not act with equal prudence; and the result was, that one raised against himself a violent storm of hatred and prejudice, which the other, without any sinful compromise, avoided. The case of Mr. Garrettson was remarkable. His "great grandfather," he tells us, "was among the first settlers in Maryland," so that he was one of the fourth generation of a slaveholding family. Yet, when he was converted, he received a conviction immediately from God that his connection with slavery ought to be, without delay, relinquished. The account is so deeply impressive that it cannot be better given than in his own words, taken from the *Arminian Magazine* of 1794. He says, (this was in the year 1775, and soon after he had found peace with God:)

"One Sabbath morning, I continued reading the Bible till eight o'clock, and then, under a sense of duty, called the family together for prayer. While I was giving out a hymn this thought powerfully struck my mind: It is not right for you to keep your fellow-creatures in bondage. You must let the oppressed go free. I knew this was the voice of the Lord. *Till this moment, I never suspected that the practice of slave-keeping was wrong; having neither read anything on the subject, nor conversed with persons respecting its sinfulness.* After a minute's pause I replied, 'Lord, the oppressed shall go free.' I then addressed the slaves, and told them, 'You do not belong to me: I will not desire your service without making you a sufficient compensation.' I now found liberty to proceed in family worship. After singing I kneeled down to pray. But if I had the tongue of an angel I could never fully describe

what I felt. All that dejection and melancholy gloom which I had groaned under, vanished away in a moment. A Divine sweetness ran through my whole frame. My soul was admitted into the depths of the Redeemer's love in an inexpressible manner! Praise and glory to his name forever!"

The annals of Methodism do not furnish a more striking passage, in relation to slavery, than that wonderful, simple, and devout record. There the true genius of Methodism, and of pure, unsophisticated Christianity, appears without a cloud. What honor redounded to the risen Saviour on that Sabbath morning! How appropriately was that noble act propounded at once in simple words, inaugurated with songs and prayer! How fitly it came in, after two hours' reading of the Bible in secret! How admirably it was associated with "family worship!" Now master and freed servants were one family indeed! How gracious the attestation of Divine approval, when "the depths of the Redeemer's love in an inexpressible manner" filled his soul! O, if all Christian masters, instead of reasoning themselves into the allowableness of slavery, would but "go and do likewise," they would have much larger enjoyment of the love of Christ than they are ever likely to experience if, in these latter days of Gospel light and grace, they continue to hold their fellow-men, and some of them their fellow-Christians, in the bondage of slavery.

Immediately after the performing of this act of justice, Garrettsou felt a desire "to spread his Redeemer's glory to the ends of the world." He soon became a Methodist preacher, and "having clean hands, he waxed stronger and stronger." But he never altered his sentiments respecting slavery. "It was God," says he, "and not man, that taught me the impropriety of holding slaves; and I shall never be able to praise him enough for it. My very heart bleeds for slaveholders, especially those who make a profession of religion." He was not their reviler or enemy; he was full of Divine tenderness and compassion for them. It is deeply interesting, and very instructive, to notice the conduct of such a minister in his extensive travels through slaveholding States. "The cruelties," he says, "which the poor negroes suffered affected me greatly. I endeavored frequently to inculcate the doctrine of freedom in a private way, which procured me the displeasure of some interested persons." By "private way," he seems to mean personal conversation with the masters and others; but he would not introduce such a topic in his pulpit ministrations, or preach it openly in a mixed congregation, and in the midst of a slave community. On the contrary, he was careful that the minds of the slaves should be directed only to spiritual blessings. Hence, he adds, "I set apart times to

preach to the blacks, and adapted my discourses to their capacity; these were refreshing seasons from the presence of the Lord. Often were their sable faces overflowed with penitential tears, while their hands of faith were stretched out to embrace salvation through Jesus Christ. Their captivity and sufferings were sanctified, and drove them to the Friend of sinners; many of them were exceedingly happy, through the manifestations of pardoning mercy." It does not appear, indeed, that he had any considerable success in promoting the cause of freedom. Two instances only are mentioned in his personal narrative. One relates to an individual. "Colonel F.," says he, "near James River, is an excellent man, speaks boldly for his Master, and has liberated *many* of his slaves." That, however, was not the relinquishing of the principle; he had no more right to one than to many. Still it shows the Christian spirit of Garrettson, who did not condemn him because he came short of his own consistent conduct, but commended him for his approach toward it. The other instance relates to a whole society, though a small one. Of them he says, "They would not detain their fellow-creatures in bondage, but freely liberated their poor slaves." Thus, with prudent boldness he advocated the cause of the slave; and yet, by remembering there is "a time to every purpose under the heaven," he avoided that collision with slaveholders which, without doing any good, would have hindered the Gospel of Christ. So far as he suffered persecution, it was solely "for righteousness' sake," and not from a failure of observing the Christian direction, "Walk in wisdom toward them that are without."

It was in 1784 that Mr. Wesley, as a presbyter of the Church of England, ordained Dr. Coke to the office of superintendent of the work in America. In as regular a manner as the case would admit, Mr. Asbury was associated with him, after he had received the suffrages of his brethren, at a conference speedily assembled at Baltimore. In the Letter of Ordination which Mr. Wesley drew up, he states that "many of the people in the Southern provinces," that is, the slave provinces, "desired to remain under his care;" and yet Dr. Coke does not seem to have received any instructions, written or verbal, concerning slavery. In his subsequent zeal against it, the doctor acted under the impulse of his own fervent spirit, and never pretended that he had been directed by a superior authority to such a procedure. This silence of Mr. Wesley is the more remarkable, considering that ten years before, in his "Thoughts on Slavery," he had most vehemently denounced the whole system. But on this occasion the circumstances of the white population, and their religious necessities, appear to have entirely engrossed his attention;

for it was they only who demanded the ordinances, and required some immediate provision for their administration. Indeed, the slaves had no voice in the matter; for, as we have already seen, they were not reckoned in the number of society members, although many of them had been savingly brought to the knowledge of Christ. Probably one reason of that omission was, not their condition as slaves, but because they were unbaptized; for, until the ecclesiastical economy of Methodism was established, the preachers did not consider themselves at liberty to administer the ordinances at all. Pious negroes would afterward come in for the same benefits incidentally, although they had done nothing to obtain them, nor were they immediately thought of when the arrangements were first made. The condition of the slaves in the West Indies was, in respect to the ordinances, very similar for many years. For there was no Methodist preacher to baptize them; and few, if any, were baptized by the clergy; so that, with the exception of Mr. Gilbert's servants, whom Mr. Wesley baptized in London, none had been thus introduced into the Church, although they were, in those islands, reckoned as members. These were some of the ecclesiastical anomalies and irregularities in those early days of Methodism, consequent on the existence of slavery.

When Dr. Coke assembled the first conference in Baltimore, at the close of 1784, Mr. Garrettson was present; but we cannot gather from Drew's Life of Coke, that any discussions on slavery took place in that assembly. The doctor, in conjunction with Mr. Asbury, published a small volume, which was a kind of manual of the doctrines and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as settled at that conference. "This early conference being ended, and the necessary arrangements for the future government of the societies made, Dr. Coke took his leave of Baltimore, and proceeded on an extensive tour to visit various churches throughout the States, before he embarked for England." That tour was chiefly through the slave states, or, as Mr. Wesley called them, "the Southern provinces," which had applied to him for spiritual assistance and recognition. "Hitherto," says his biographer, "Dr. Coke had preserved a profound silence on the subject of negro slavery." But now, and in a slave state, he altogether adopted another course; and, as it appears to us, in a very injudicious manner. Not content with opposing it in the manly, yet safe and prudent way that Garrettson had done, he openly preached against it in his public ministry. "In the province of Virginia, while preaching in a barn, on Sunday, the 9th of April, 1785, he took occasion to introduce the subject of slavery, and expatiated on its injustice, in

terms that were not calculated to flatter his auditors. Many were provoked to hear those truths which, from their earliest infancy, they had been taught to stifle, and which their interest still instructed them to conceal." The result was, he raised against himself a violent storm of persecution, and effected no good, comparable to the evil that ensued. He even compromised the welfare of those whose interest he was zealous to promote. For, on returning to the same state a few days afterward, he found "a revolt among the slaves was greatly dreaded by their masters," insomuch that he "found it necessary to enforce on the negroes the duty of obedience while they were held in bondage." His biographer acknowledges that the doctor "learned wisdom by what he had suffered;" and that wisdom never afterward forsook him, for he was not known to try the experiment in the West Indies subsequently, of making slavery a pulpit topic in the midst of a slaveholding community. And it may be safely affirmed, that no Wesleyan missionary attempted it prior to emancipation; however right it was for them, after that event, to lead the freed slave to acknowledge the goodness of God, and even to feel grateful to their masters for the blessings of freedom which they had obtained. If the doctor or the missionaries had inveighed against slavery from the pulpit in the West Indies, they would have closed at once the door against their own usefulness; and, if resolved to persevere, however persecuted in the colonies, they would have obtained no redress from the government at home. To that government the Methodists were often compelled to appeal for protection from arbitrary colonial laws, and never in vain. The appeal was generally presented by Dr. Coke himself, or under his direction; but it was always based on the truthful plea of the simplicity and singleness of purpose manifested by the missionaries, who, in their public ministrations, confined themselves exclusively to the work of preaching the Gospel, after the manner of the apostles, without debating, arbitrating, or judging between the master and the slave. This portion of Methodistic history, in connection with slavery, and drawn from America, is highly valuable, inasmuch as it is seen to have produced a powerful impression on the mind of Dr. Coke, and to have moderated his proceedings when, in the year following, he was led to the establishment of the West Indian mission.

Although Methodism began its benign operations in favor of the slave race of the West Indies and America at nearly the same time, the latter country had greatly the advantage in regard to an appointed ministry. Within a few years after the societies were formed at New York and Maryland, Boardman and Pilmoor arrived

to watch over and guide them; whereas *more than a quarter of a century* passed away after the formation of the first society in Antigua before the arrival of the first missionary there. In 1760 Gilbert began to preach on his plantations; in 1786, at the Conference, Mr. Wesley ordained the Rev. William Warrener to go and minister to the people, by which time *one thousand* members had been gathered together. In that long interval Mr. Wesley had not lost sight of the work, nor had God forgotten the people. To supply the lack of ministerial service, about the time Mr. Gilbert died, God raised up for them an intermediate helper. "In 1779," says Myles, "Mr. John Baxter, a local preacher, went from the royal dock at Chatham to the Island of Antigua. He watered the seed sown by Mr. Gilbert. In the year 1786 he resigned his office of under-store-keeper at English Harbor, for which he had £400 per annum currency, and became," (for less than half that sum,) "from that time to his death, which happened in 1806, a West Indian missionary, except one year which he spent in England." So that for seven years Methodism was *gratuitously* benefiting the slaves, by Baxter's disinterested labors. His days were employed in the king's service, and his evenings in preaching on the plantations to which he was permitted access, or in visiting St. John's, twelve miles distant, to attend to the principal society; and there also he chiefly labored on the Sabbath days. It was by his instrumentality mainly that the two hundred left by Gilbert increased to a thousand. So eminently good and useful a man was worthy of high honor; and, though unordained, Mr. Wesley took him out as a minister in the same year that he ordained Warrener, and gave Baxter the precedence in the appointment made. They were both designated "elders;" from which circumstance it is thought that Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke designed to form the West Indian mission after the American model; but after Mr. Wesley's death the term fell into disuse, and the English arrangement of districts and chairmen was adopted.

Methodism was now fairly established, with its whole economy; and it spread from island to island, and the number of its missionaries increased, till many thousands of the poor slaves were brought into the glorious spiritual liberty of the children of God; and multitudes who knew nothing better than slavery on earth obtained an immortal crown in heaven. A mere moiety of the members were whites; there was a good sprinkling of free colored people and blacks; but the vast majority were slaves. For half a century from the commencement of Methodism the slaves never expected freedom, and the missionaries never taught them to expect it; and when the agitations of later years unavoidably affected them more



or less, as they learned, chiefly through the violent speeches of their own masters or overseers, what was going on in their favor in England, it was missionary influence that moderated their passions, kept them in the steady course of duty, and prevented them from sinning against God by offending against the laws of man. Whatever outbreaks or insurrections at any time occurred, *no Methodist slave was ever proved guilty of incendiarism or rebellion for more than seventy years, namely, from 1760 to 1834.* An extensive examination of their correspondence throughout that lengthened period, and an acquaintance with their general character and history, enables one confidently to affirm that a more humble, laborious, zealous, and unoffending class of Christian missionaries were never employed by any section of the Church of God, than those sent out by the British Conference to the West India isles. They were eminently men of one business, unconnected with any political party, though often strongly suspected by the jealousies so rife in slaveholding communities. A curious instance of this occurred in regard to one who was firmly believed to be a correspondent of the Anti-Slavery Society in England. "I did not know," said Fowell Buxton, in the House of Commons, "that such a man was in existence, till I heard that he was to be hung for corresponding with me."

As a specimen of one for all the rest, of the circumstances in which the missionaries were often placed, and of their singleness of purpose and aim, we select the following from the Memoirs of the Rev. John Brownell, who was then stationed in the island of St. Kitts. In his journal he writes thus, March 10, 1801 :

"In the forenoon of this day I received a letter from the late commander-in-chief, requesting me to attend him immediately at the council-room. On my appearance before him, an Address was presented to me, purporting to be written by the General Conference in America, to the body of people called Methodists, requesting them to petition the Legislature for the abolition of the slave-trade. This address was signed by Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and several others, inserted in the newspapers, and published in the form of hand-bills. The Council imagined that it had originated with the English Conference, and by them had been transmitted to the Conference in America; and desired to know whether I had received any orders to carry it into effect. I informed the Council that the English Conference had no authority over the Methodist societies in the United States of America; and distinctly asserted that I had received no instructions in the matter, and that the English Conference had no desire or intention that the missionaries should interfere with the political affairs of the islands, our only design being to bring the people to the knowledge of God. On the following day there appeared in one of the public papers a vile letter, accusing the missionaries of seditious designs."

"Tuesday, the 14th, I waited upon the commander-in-chief, in company with Mr. Shipley," (his colleague.) "We laid before him a considerable number of facts and arguments, to prove that we had not the slightest intention to interfere with the civil condition of the slaves. We were ready to

attest, upon oath, that we had never inculcated any doctrine tending to sedition; but uniformly exhorted 'as many servants as are under the yoke to count their masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.' That no principles contrary to these had been taught by us in any of the society meetings, we stated to be manifest from this consideration: that great numbers of whites, or free people of color, who held slaves, were in religious connection with us, and attended those meetings as well as the slaves; and yet such people, who would of course be tenacious of their own interests, so far from making any complaint against us, were anxious to prevail upon us to admit their slaves into society. We also pledged ourselves that we would rather quit the colonies than disturb the public peace; and further urged, that if these reasons were not satisfactory to the local government, the affair might be referred to the Duke of Portland, and an explanation required of the English Conference. This proposal was acceded to, and here the business ended. I afterward drew up a reply to the infamous letter which had been published against us. But the man who had given publicity to the unprincipled defamations of an adversary, had not the honor to print the vindication of the accused."

As was Brownell, so were his brethren; and such was the spirit, temper, and demeanor of the Methodist missionaries in carrying out their mission to the West Indian slaves. They were the negroes' true friends. "It is surprising," says Dr. Coke, "with what affection the negroes look upon us when we pass by them. One of them was overheard telling his companions, '*These men were imported for us.*'" The missionaries were quiet emancipators without aiming at it; for the Gospel is the forerunner of freedom. In the meantime they were conservators of the masters' interests, and especially on critical occasions, as will yet be made to appear. It was in that way Methodism acted upon slavery, so far as the missionaries themselves and their personal labors were concerned. The instructions furnished them by the committee in London run thus:

"As in the colonies in which you are called to labor a great proportion of the inhabitants are in a state of slavery, the Committee most strongly call to your recollection what was so fully stated to you when you were accepted as a missionary to the West Indies, that your only business is to promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves to whom you may have access, without in the least degree, in public or private, interfering with their civil condition. On all persons, in the state of slaves, you are diligently and implicitly to enforce the same exhortations which the apostles of our Lord administered to the slaves of ancient nations, when by their ministry they embraced Christianity. Ephesians vi, 5-8; Col. iii, 22-25."

These scriptures are quoted at length, after which is added: "In all cases you are to meet even unreasonable prejudices," (as to the hour and place of meeting,) "and attempt to disarm suspicions, however groundless, so far as you can do it consistently with your duties as a faithful and laborious minister of the Gospel." Again:

"The Committee caution you against engaging in any of the civil disputes

or local politics of the colony to which you may be appointed, either verbally or by correspondence with any persons at home or in the colonies. The whole period of your temporary residence in the West Indies is to be filled up with the proper work of your mission. You are not to become parties in any civil quarrel; but are to 'please all men for their good to edification;' intent upon the solemn work of your office, and upon that eternal state in the view of which the Committee trust you will ever think and act."

Those extracts from the printed instructions, drawn up by the late Rev. Richard Watson, and put into the hand of every missionary on receiving his appointment, will show, more clearly than anything else can do, the precise and single aim of the missionaries to a slave population. No missionary was ever accused of violating those instructions; and their course was certainly more moderate than brethren of some other denominations thought to be right; and it occasionally exposed them to the reproaches of those whose zeal was more conspicuous than their "meekness of wisdom." It must be obvious that missionaries guided by instructions worded with so much accuracy and precision, could not possibly operate against slavery otherwise than by spiritual means; which, however, after all, are the safest, best, and most effectual than can be employed. The hope of the slave lies in the purity and power of the Gospel; and nothing short of the leaven of Christianity pervading political legislation, will insure the slave freedom, or prepare him to receive his right with advantage.

But although the missionaries were thus restricted to one object and one work, the Methodists in Great Britain were not under such restraint; although the public managers of missions were for a long season less active in the cause of freedom than they otherwise would have been, lest they should involve the missionaries in trouble and hinder their spiritual usefulness. It is now time to trace the progress of Methodistic action on the slave-trade and slavery in England. We must begin with Mr. Wesley. His attention was first directed to the slave-trade by a member of the Society of Friends, who put a valuable tract into his hands. Pre-eminent honor is due to that excellent community of philanthropists for their uniform testimony in favor of the oppressed of every race. Though themselves a small people in respect to numbers, they have been beyond all others powerful in influence in this great cause; for they have been a practical people, having completely purged themselves from any continuous participation in the evils of slavery. They awoke Wesley and the Methodists to a sense of duty. In his Journal, February 12, 1772, he says: "I read a book published by an honest Quaker, on that execrable sum of all villainies, commonly called the slave-trade. I have read nothing like it in the heathen

world, whether ancient or modern; and it infinitely exceeds, in every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mohammedan countries." From that time he never lost sight of the matter, or omitted what in his natural judgment he thought a fitting occasion for bearing testimony against it. And although it was the slave-trade to which he applies the strong epithet, "execrable sum of all villainies," yet he conjoined slavery with it in the tract entitled "*Thoughts on Slavery*," which he published in 1774; and which, according to Myles, went through *five* editions before his decease.

We may here pause to make a sober use of liberty of thought, and freedom of observation. The greater part of that energetic pamphlet of sixteen pages is admirable; but yet it cannot be maintained that everything advanced in it is strictly correct. Neither our abhorrence of slavery, nor our veneration for the writer, should prevent a calm critique on two particulars, in which his vehemence has carried him beyond the bounds of truth, and involved him in self-contradictions. The first is in the description of the morals of the Africans in their native country. Most certainly no people answering thereto were ever found in any heathen land. His authorities were certain authors who had lived among them, and with whom it seems to have been a favorite passion, as with some modern writers, to whitewash heathenism; yea, even to give in perspective a beautiful picture of the unsophisticated sons of nature. We cannot but wonder that so great a divine should have listened to them, and forgot Saint Paul. One of those writers says, as quoted by Mr. Wesley: "The man (among them) who wrongs another is the abomination of all." Again: "They are punctually just and honest in their dealings; and are also very charitable. Those that are utterly helpless they keep for God's sake." Another remarks: "The whole of their manners revived in my mind the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state." Now that is about as pretty a piece of sentimentalism as was ever penned. The wonder is that the tide of emigration has not caused such a paradise to be by this time inconveniently full! And how was it that our romancers could ever bring themselves to leave such an exquisite region, and return to inferior associations with civilized men? Surely they had need rather to have remained, and persuaded men of such virtue to have the further goodness of undertaking a mission to the Christian world. Indeed, Mr. Wesley himself intimates something of this kind when he says: "Supposing these accounts to be true," only he adds with too easy credulity, "which I see no reason or pretense

to doubt of, we may leave England and France to seek genuine honesty in Benin, Congo, or Angola." Now for the contradictions. In another part of his pamphlet Mr. Wesley writes: "When the King of Barsalli wants goods or brandy, he sends to the English governor at James's Fort, who immediately sends a sloop. Against the time it arrives, he plunders some of his neighbors' towns, selling the people for the goods he wants. At other times he falls upon one of his own towns, and makes bold to sell his own subjects." Again: "Some of the natives are always ready, when well paid, to surprise and carry off their own countrymen." Now that is a poor specimen of "our first parents in their primitive state." Such abominations could have never prevailed if the majority of the people had been virtuous. Without at all extenuating that "execrable sum of all villainies," the slave-trade, or minifying what Wilberforce called the "complicated villainies" of Europeans engaged in it, still, it is impossible to believe that Africans could have been so easily induced to commit such gross outrages on their own countrymen, if "the man who wronged another had been held in universal abomination;" or that they were "just, honest, and charitable; and kept the poor for God's sake." Modern accounts of Dahomy, Ashanti, and the Gold Coast, as furnished by resident missionaries, do not tally with such a glaring representation of the virtues of the inhabitants of those regions. Nor did the first missionaries to the West Indies find any relics of such existing virtues among that down-trodden people, as many of their mournful letters concerning their moral wretchedness abundantly testify. On the other hand, the iniquitous slave-trader, with an almost unparalleled hypocrisy, drew in deepest shades the vices of the African, that he might be proved on that ground a fit article of merchandize, and show that he was not injured, but rather benefited by European robbery. In 1791 pamphlets were published in England, and circulated among members of the House of Commons, affirming that the Africans were "stupid and unenlightened hordes, immersed in the most gross and impenetrable gloom of barbarism, dark in mind as in body, prodigiously populous, impatient of all control, unteachably lazy, ferocious as their own congenial tigers, nor in any respect superior to those rapacious beasts in intellectual advancement; and being accustomed to destroy one another in battle, the slave traffic has proved a fortunate event to such miserable captives." Another writer, whose work passed through repeated editions, and who "speaks from a long residence" on the African coast, says: "*It is a humane trade, preventing human sacrifices, and civilizing the people!*" So the slave-trade was a charity, and the slave-traders

philanthropists after all! We may believe this when the emancipated slaves propose to raise a monument to their memory.

We take exceptions next to Mr. Wesley's broad and sweeping declaration against slaveholders. We mark the emphatic words, to show at once the strength of the passage. He says: "*I absolutely deny all slaveholding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice.*" Again: "*All slaveholders, of whatever rank or degree, are exactly on a level with men-stealers.*" Now in strict fairness these unqualified maxims cannot be maintained. Mr. Wesley himself overthrows their *absoluteness*, and weakens their force in the very pamphlet from which these quotations are made. Reasoning with the planters, he says: "Have you ever tried what mildness and gentleness would do" (with the slaves, in overcoming) "their stubbornness and wickedness? *I know one that did; that had prudence and patience to make the experiment; Mr. Hugh Bryan, who then lived on the borders of South Carolina. And what was the effect? Why, that all his negroes, and he had no small number of them, loved and revered him as a father, and cheerfully obeyed him out of love.*" Now surely such a man was not "*exactly on a level with men-stealers,*" or to be designated as "*a wolf, a devourer of the human species.*" Nor Mr. Belinger, and those other serious planters of whom Mr. Wesley speaks in the journal of his visit to their plantations. Moreover, not his words only, but his practice contradicts the absoluteness of his theory, or rather assertions, when writing under the influence of strong impressions, after reading a true statement of the abominations of the infamous slave-trade. For if the extreme and universal condemnation of *every* slaveholder, "*of whatever rank or degree,*" be correct, reason would have required that the missionaries he sent to the West Indies should have shut the door of admission into his society against the slaveholder, as such; and that he should have apologized for his intimacy and correspondence with Gilbert and others, on the ground of his unacquaintedness in those days with the evils which now so strongly affected his mind. Such reflections should induce a modification of certain phrases in the "*Thoughts on Slavery;*" and we may then acknowledge, concerning all the rest, that it is worthy of the highest commendation for the truth, benevolence, and energy it contains. But these observations go to show how difficult it is to deal with an enormous evil with due discrimination; and how insensibly the human mind may be impelled, by the best feelings of an honest heart, to views and assertions which, in their unqualified sense, cannot with truth be sustained.

A calmer, and, as we take it, a perfectly correct and unobjection-



able statement of the whole subject, and one that is at once practicable, is comprised in the following extract from Watson's Institutes. It is too important to be abridged. Every sentence comes with the demonstration of truth to "every man's conscience in the sight of God."

"As to the existence of slavery in *Christian states*, every government, as soon as it professes to be Christian, binds itself to be regulated by the principles of the New Testament; and though a part of its subjects should at that time be in a state of servitude, and their sudden emancipation might be obviously an injury to society at large, it is bound to show that its spirit and tendency are as inimical to slavery as is the Christianity which it professes. All the injustice and oppression against which it can guard that condition, and all the mitigating regulations it can adopt, are obligatory upon it; and since also every Christian slave is enjoined by apostolic authority to choose freedom, when it is possible to attain it, as being a better state and more befitting a Christian man, so is every Christian master bound, by the principle of loving his neighbor, and more especially his 'brother in Christ,' as himself, to promote his passing into that better and more Christian state. To the instruction of the slaves in religion would every such Christian government also be bound, and still further to adopt measures for the final extinction of slavery; the rule of its proceeding in this case being the accomplishment of this object as soon as is compatible with the real welfare of the enslaved portion of its subjects themselves, and not the consideration of the losses which might be sustained by their proprietors, which, however, ought to be compensated by other means, as far as they are just and equitably estimated.

"If this be the mode of proceeding clearly pointed out by Christianity to a state on its first becoming Christian, when previously and for ages the practice of slavery had grown up with it, how much more forcibly does it impose its obligation upon nations involved in the guilt of the modern African slavery. They professed Christianity when they commenced the practice. They entered upon a traffic which *ab initio* was, upon their own principles, unjust and cruel. They had no rights of war to plead against the natural rights of the first captives, who were in fact stolen, or purchased from the stealers, knowing them to be so. The governments themselves never acquired any right of property in the parents; they have none in their descendants, and can acquire none; as the thief who steals cattle cannot, should he feed and defend them, acquire any right of property, either in them or the stock they may produce, although he may be at the charge of rearing them. These governments, not having a right of property in their colonial slaves, could not transfer any right of property in them to their present masters, for they could not give what they never had; nor, by their connivance at the robberies and purchases of stolen human beings, alter the essential injustice of the transaction. All such governments are therefore clearly bound, as they fear God and dread his displeasure, to restore all their slaves to the condition of freemen. Restoration to their friends and country is now out of the question; they are bound to protect them where they are, and have the right to exact their obedience to good laws in return; but property in them they cannot obtain; *their natural right to liberty is untouched and inviolable*. The manner in which this right is to be restored, we grant, it is in the power of such governments to determine, provided that proceeding be regulated by the principles above laid down. First, That the emancipation be *sincerely determined upon*, at some time future; Secondly, That it be *not delayed beyond* the period which the general interests of the slaves themselves prescribe, and which is to be judged of benevolently, and without any bias of judgment, giving the advantage of

every doubt to the injured party; Thirdly, *That all possible means be adopted to render freedom a good to them.* It is only under such circumstances that the continuance of slavery among us can cease to be a national sin, calling down, as it has done, and must do until a process of emancipation be honestly commenced, the just displeasure of God. *What compensation* may be claimed from the governments, *that is, the public,* of those countries who have entangled themselves in this species of unjust dealing, by those who have purchased men and women whom no one had the right to sell, and no one had the right to buy, *is a perfectly distinct question,* and ought not to turn repentance and justice out of their course, or delay their operations for a moment. Perhaps, such is the unfruitful nature of all wrong, it may be found that, as free laborers, the slaves would be of equal or more value to those who employ them, than at present. If otherwise, as in some degree 'all have sinned,' the real loss ought to be borne by all, when that loss is fairly and impartially ascertained; but of which loss the slave interest, if we may so call it, ought in justice to bear more than an equal share, as having had the greatest gain."—*Watson's Works*, vol. xii, pp. 112–114.

Such calm and forcible reasoning thoroughly convinced the Methodists that the whole of the transactions connected with slavery were based on injustice; and that the original injustice of the slave-trade could never wear itself out, nor any legislation convert a wrong into a right. But yet they conceived that a long-continued and widely-extended course of injustice might have such complicated ramifications, that benevolence, and even justice itself, would require caution with activity in producing a legal rectification, and demand a prudent regard to the present actual position of the sufferers. Recompense could never be made; for, besides the injustice of having caused them to be born in a state of slavery through the enslaving of their ancestors, when emancipated they would have to begin life in a new condition, under circumstances greatly to their disadvantage, and below the ordinary level of society; for the *effects* of the servile state and spirit would continue for many years, it may be generations. Freedom would be simply a negation of injustice, the restoration of a theft without restitution. Convinced in their impartial judgment by such sober truths as these, which none can deny, the Methodists agreed as one man to two resolutions: First, That it became the Christian duty of the nation *at once* to renounce the *principle* of slavery; and, Secondly, That in *practice* the system itself should cease at the earliest time compatible with the interests of all parties concerned in it. Those were their *ultimate* resolutions, *to which they gradually came,* after the slave-trade itself had been brought to an end. But we must first glance at their further efforts in the abolition of the trade, which we propose to do in a second article.

## ART. III.—THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

1. *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* By GILBERT BURNET, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Salisbury. With a copious Index. Revised and corrected, with additional Notes, and a Preface calculated to remove certain Difficulties attending the Perusal of this important History. By the Rev. E. NARES, D. D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. In three volumes. New-York: D. Appleton & Company, 1843.
2. *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D. D., President of the Theological School of Geneva, etc. Translated by H. WHITE, B. A. Vol. V. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.

WE place before our readers the title-pages of these great historical works, not for the purpose of review or criticism, but as authorities from which the principal part of the facts referred to in this paper are derived, and constituting the basis of an important argument. The reputation of Bishop Burnet's history has long been established, and criticism bestowed upon it now would appear to be presumptuous. The merit of D'Aubigné as an historian is universally conceded, and is not now to be argued. The question is not, whether these celebrated authors are to be regarded as high authority, but, what do they teach us in relation to the great change in the faith and religious life of the Church of England effected by what is called THE REFORMATION?

The real character and importance of the Reformation in England has been a matter of controversy for three centuries, and yet the positions of the combatants are maintained, without the concession of a hair's breadth of ground on either side. Roman Catholics maintain that it was a mere political revolution, achieved by Henry VIII. out of resentment because the pope refused to grant him a divorce from Catharine of Aragon; while, upon the other hand, Protestants maintain that it was a great work of God, consisting in an awakening of the consciences of the people, through the instrumentality of the Holy Scriptures and the preaching of the Word. We propose in this paper a brief examination of this question.

Early in the seventh century, the Church of Rome established her dominion in the British Isles. This was a step toward the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church, which was claimed by Hildebrand in the eleventh century. Collisions between the priests and the civil authorities, from time to time, occasioned no little trouble to the ruling sovereigns; but the wily emis-

saries of the pope, by working upon their superstitious fears, and by varied arts, so managed as to hold the ascendancy down to the twelfth century. The famous Thomas à Becket, both a soldier and a priest, was, by the pope, made Archbishop of Canterbury, having been previously appointed Chancellor of England by Henry II. He was as ambitious as he was cunning, and as wicked as he was ambitious. He knew Henry well, and took every advantage of his weakness. When he received the appointment of Archbishop of Canterbury, he said to the king, with a smile, "Now, sire, when I shall have to choose between God's favor and yours, remember it is yours that I shall sacrifice."

Popery had now asserted its right to "the two swords," and the meaning of the archbishop was, that he would obey the king when his commands did not clash with those of the pope, but no further! We have an archbishop in this country who vaunts the patriotism of Roman Catholics, upon the ground that they hold that God is to be obeyed *first*, and the civil power *next*. And we have simpletons enough among us who believe this to be orthodox doctrine. They seem to forget that, to every Romanist, the voice of the pope is the voice of God, and that the mass of the people only know what the pope requires, from what they are told by their ghostly guides. Popery is now what it was in the days Hildebrand, and Archbishop Hughes is just as good a citizen as Becket was a subject. Their notions of the relation of the civil power to the spiritual are of precisely the same class.

Becket assumed great pomp, and lived in the greatest extravagance. With him, the pope and the Church were all, while the king and the state were nothing. Henry became weary of this arrogant and unmanageable ecclesiastic, and incautiously dropped an expression which was understood to imply a wish for his assassination; and, accordingly, four knights proceeded to his cathedral church, and murdered him at the foot of the altar. He was canonized, and, if we may believe the stories of the Romish priests, a multitude of miracles have been wrought at his tomb. The public mind was filled with horror at the wickedness of the murder, and Henry, becoming alarmed, gave up the perpetrators of the crime to the demands of justice, and humbled himself before his holiness the pope. John, the successor of Henry, laid down his crown at the pope's feet, and made over the kingdom to him, May 15, 1215.

The barons were not so pliable. They did not quite relish the idea of being bartered away to a foreign power, like serfs of the soil. They drew their swords, being followed by their knights and servants, and two thousand soldiers, and proceeded to occupy London.

On the 5th of June, 1215, the king signed "*Magna Charta*," which secured the rights and liberties of the people of England. The pope pronounced the Great Charter "null and void." John was between two fires, and was driven almost to madness. He gnashed his teeth and rolled his eyes; he tore sticks from the hedge, and ground them like a maniac. In this mighty struggle between the pope and priests on the one hand, and the barons and people on the other, the principles of the Reformation began to be evolved. The outrageous exactions of the pope, the insolence of the priests, and the scandalous corruptions of the monasteries, disgusted the people. The barons exclaimed: "Alas, poor country! wretched England! And thou, O pope, a curse light upon thee!" "Is it the pope's business," asked they, "to regulate temporal matters? By what right do vile usurers and foul simoniacs domineer over our country, and excommunicate the whole world?"

The conflict proceeded. Protests against the exorbitant claims of the pope and clergy were entered; and the pope sometimes made concessions, and at other times made resistance; sometimes cursed and at other times blessed; but kept his eye upon the mark at which Rome always aims—the spiritual and temporal supremacy over the whole world.

Amid these conflicts a mighty champion for the truth arose. *John Wiclif* was born in 1324. He attended the lectures of the famous Bradwardine, at Morton College. During "the plague" in 1348, he became much awakened, and passed sleepless nights in his cell, groaning and praying to God for light and comfort. He was led to the only source of relief by the instructions of the Holy Scriptures, which he now incessantly studied. He was elected warden of Baliol College in 1361, and of Canterbury in 1365. In his lectures and sermons he now began to teach the doctrines of faith, and to reprove the licentiousness of the monks.

Wiclif was a profound thinker and an eloquent preacher. His public lectures and sermons were crowded. He accused the clergy with having banished the Scriptures, and demanded that they should be restored to the Church. Papal arrogance had now reached its height in England, and had stirred the mind and heart of the nation to their utmost depths. Wiclif was as able a politician as he was a divine; and he came forward boldly in defense of the rights of the crown against the aggressions of Rome. His arguments were repeated in Parliament. The war was between the demands of the pope for tribute and the claims of the crown to independence; between the canon law and the Holy Scriptures. The reformer finally fully bared his breast to the storm, and declared that "the

Gospel is the only source of religion. The Roman pontiff is a mere *cut-purse*, and far from having the right to reprimand the whole world, he may be lawfully reproved by his inferiors, and even by laymen." The ecclesiastics were much scandalized at this bold stand, and the transgressor was arraigned before the convocation of St. Paul's cathedral. He was defended by Lord Percy and the Duke of Lancaster, for purely political considerations. A tumult followed between the noble advocates of the reformer and the ecclesiastical functionaries, and the cause exploded.

Wiclif pressed the battle, and the friars sought, by all possible means, to entangle and ruin him. But God was on his side; he was a chosen instrument for the accomplishment of a great work, and He who can make the wrath of men to praise him, and restrain the remainder, took care of his servant, turning the counsels of his enemies into foolishness.

In 1379 Wiclif was attacked by a dangerous disease, and his enemies hoped that his end had come. They now conceived the project of procuring from him a recantation upon his dying bed. Four learned doctors, together with as many senators, were dispatched to his sick-room. They first expressed great sympathy for him in his suffering, and then reminding him of the grievous wrongs he had heaped upon the holy orders, they expressed a hope that he would improve his last moments in making reparation. He listened to the whole tale in silence, and then, calling upon his servants to raise his head, he fixed his eyes upon the company and said: "I shall not die, but live; and again declare the evil deeds of the friars." The consternation of the doctors was overwhelming; they retired in the utmost confusion, and Wiclif soon recovered, and renewed the fight.

The Roman hierarchy was now rendered powerless in England by a feud between two rival popes. In 1378, Gregory XI. died, and the conclave elected an Italian, who assumed the name of Urban VI. He was an abandoned tyrant, and soon drove the cardinals from Rome. They assembled at Naples, and pronounced the election a nullity, and proceeded to elect another. Robert, Count of Geneva, was elected, who took the name of Clement VII. The former set up his throne in Rome, and the latter at Avignon; but which really occupied the chair of St. Peter, is a question not yet settled.

This great schism so fully occupied the mind of the Romish Church, that there was neither time nor strength left her to look after heresies or heretics. Wiclif improved the occasion to lay deadly blows upon the apostate Church. "Trust we in the help of Christ," he exclaimed, "for he hath begun already to help us graciously, in



that he hath cloven the head of antichrist, and made the two parts fight against each other; for it cannot be doubtful, that the sin of the popes, which hath so long continued, hath brought in this division."

The pulpit and pen were now employed by the reformer with tremendous effect against the great apostasy. As yet, however, he had but assailed the outposts and van-guards of the enemy. He next proceeded to storm the citadel. He commenced a translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue. He was a thorough Latin scholar, but not well acquainted with Hebrew and Greek. The text from which he made his translation was the Latin Vulgate. He had labored upon this work with the greatest industry for ten or fifteen years, and it was finally completed in 1580. There were no printing-presses then in existence, but every copy had to be written out with a pen, with the same manual labor which it cost to execute the original copy. Although the labor of making one copy was immense, copies were greatly multiplied, and the word of God was read by thousands, not excepting the laboring classes, both males and females.

The work was denounced as heretical, and highly offensive to God, being an effort to lay bare and expose to the jests of infidels the secrets of God's counsels. A controversy followed, in which Master John Wiclif met his opponents with plain common-sense arguments, deferring nothing to mere human authority. The Romanists urged that "to open the Bible to all, was, in effect, to set aside the office and to supplant the authority of those who were appointed to teach its doctrines to the people." To this the reformer replied: "According to the faith which the apostle teaches, all Christians must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and be answerable to him for all the goods wherewith he has intrusted them. It is, therefore, necessary that all the faithful should know these goods, and the use of them; for an answer by prelate or attorney will not then avail, but every one must then answer in his own person." Here the Romish assumption that God has committed to priests the business of reading the Scriptures, and doling them out to the people according to their own notions, whims, and caprices, is met by the plain fact that God had made every man responsible for reading and understanding the Scriptures for himself. No learned Protestant, in these glorious days of evangelical light and liberty, can reason more conclusively.

The circulation of the Scriptures in English was a terrible blow to the papacy; it was the explosion of a magazine under the very chair of his holiness. The fact that copies of Wiclif's Bible were

found not only in the universities, and in literary circles, but also, entire or in parts, in the rural districts among the laboring classes, proves conclusively that the labors of the reformer had made a deep impression on the national mind. Copyists and readers of the sacred records were not wanting, although the bishops and clergy were incessant in their denunciations against any and all who should be found with a line of the Scriptures, in the vulgar tongue, in their possession.

Wiclif was summoned to Rome to answer to the charge of heresy, but he did not appear. The two rival popes were spending their time and strength in intrigues and stratagems for each other's overthrow, and were wholly inadequate to the exigencies of the times in England. The local ecclesiastical authorities did their utmost, but, for the time, were unable to stem the tide of popular feeling in favor of the new movement. The day was anxiously looked for by the priests, when they should be able to immolate the great object of their malice, but God had not in reserve for him the crown of martyrdom. His excessive labors sapped the foundations of his physical frame, and he fell in his church, by a paralytic shock, Dec. 29, 1384, and in forty-eight hours his spirit passed from earth to heaven.

Wiclif had many followers, who were nicknamed *Lollards*. They were the butt of a most furious persecution, which continued to rage until their enemies supposed they were completely exterminated. Their blood was poured out like rivers. Lords and gentlemen were led to the stake, and simple-minded peasants, in great numbers, sealed the truth of their testimony with their blood. The *Lollards'* prison still remains in the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with some of the grim memorials of the fiendish tortures inflicted upon the children of God by the servants of antichrist. This ancient prison is lined and ceiled with thick oak plank. The door is of the same material, nearly covered with the heads of iron spikes, and grating mournfully upon its hinges when forced open. The iron rings to which the poor creatures were chained, are still in the sides of the cell, some five feet above the floor. And here, in rude carving, are to be seen some of the precious promises of the Bible, which were the source of consolation and hope to those holy martyrs and confessors, when all human support had fled forever. While gazing upon these remains of the age of Romish persecution in England, we were forcibly reminded of the language heard by the Revelator from the souls "under the altar:" "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

"The Reformation" began in England, under the labors of John

Wiclif, in the fourteenth century. Its flame was repressed for a period, but some of its burning coals, though covered in the ashes, were still, in God's good providence, kept from being utterly extinguished, until they were fanned to a fierce and burning heat in the sixteenth century. The Reformation, under Luther and the English Reformers, was but a revival of the glorious work of God which, two centuries before, had made a deadly thrust at the man of sin, and had been sanctified and dignified by the blood of a noble band of martyrs and confessors. Hence D'Aubigné quaintly remarks, that "if Luther and Calvin were the fathers of the Reformation, Wiclif was its grandfather."

The human mind was struggling desperately for emancipation, and had already commenced its flight from the dark recesses and death-damps of the Middle Ages. In 1438 a new era was ushered into the world by the discovery of the art of printing. The book of Psalms was printed in 1457, and the first complete copy of the Bible in 1460. This glorious discovery was made just in time to aid the great reforms which had just commenced their triumphant march.

In 1517 Luther commenced his public opposition to the sale of indulgences, and thenceforward the Reformation proceeded in Germany. Three years previous to this, Erasmus published his edition of the Greek Testament, with a Latin translation and notes; and the same year he sent out his famous "Colloquies." In the latter work he gave the monks such a terrible castigation, that they were accustomed to say that "Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched."

Erasmus was a man of transcendent intellect, and of religious convictions and moral sentiments entirely in advance of the times in which he commenced his brilliant career. He was born in the city of Rotterdam, in 1467, in a small brick building, which has survived the ruin of time, and is still pointed out to the curious traveler as one of the lions of that ancient city. Erasmus saw the necessity of reform, but his theory of the method of achieving it was wholly impracticable. He would have a reform of the religious orders by the diffusion of light, under the guidance and control of the supreme ecclesiastical authority. He appeared not to see that the Romish Church was a dead mass, a putrid carcass, which could not be galvanized into life, but which must be buried out of human sight, and the world ridded of it as a monstrous nuisance and a universal curse. He tried his theory of reform, and learned much by his experiment; but the great Dutchman was not made for a martyr. He had visited England, and contracted friendships in the

universities and in the court of Henry VIII., and his name gave a passport to any literary production throughout the literary circles of England. The New Testament, in Greek and Latin, was eagerly seized, and soon produced great changes. The doctors and students of the universities hailed it as a messenger directly from heaven. The work had been brought out with great labor, and with high expectations of the approbation, and even the applause, of all Christendom. The learned editor and translator assumed the right ground, but his position was anything but acceptable to the priests. He says: "A spiritual temple must be raised in dissolute Christendom. The mighty in this world will contribute toward it their marble, their ivory, and their gold; I, who am poor and humble, offer the foundation stone." Again he says: "It is not from human reservoirs, fetid with stagnant waters, that we should draw the doctrine of salvation; but from the pure and abundant streams that flow from the heart of God." This was a thunderbolt hurled, perhaps unwittingly, at the papacy. The priests took the alarm, and commenced a storm of declamation against the innovator. Franciscans and Dominicans, bishops and priests, set up a fearful howling. "Here are horrible heresies!" they exclaimed. "Here are frightful antichrists! If this book is tolerated it will be the death of the papacy. We must drive this man from the university; we must turn him out of the Church. He corrects the Vulgate, and puts himself in the place of St. Jerome. He sets aside a work authorized by the consent of ages and inspired by the Holy Ghost. What audacity!" "Look here," said one, turning over the leaves; "this book enjoins upon men to *repent*, instead of requiring them, as the Vulgate does, to *do penance*." "This man," said another, "has committed the unpardonable sin; for he maintains that there is nothing in common between the Holy Ghost and the monks." Another roars out: "He is a heretic, a heresiarch, a forger of lies; he's a goose—what do I say? he's a very antichrist." A famous Romish doctor by the name of Lee, at a dinner party, asserted that, "In this New Testament there are three hundred dangerous, frightful passages. Three hundred did I say? There are more than a thousand. If we do not stop this leak it will sink the ship."

This storm of popish wrath and nonsense took the scholar by surprise. Mingled disgust and terror almost overwhelmed him. "I call God to witness," said he, "I thought I was doing a work acceptable to the Lord, and necessary to the cause of Christ. Wretch that I am, who could have foreseen this horrible tempest?"

Amid this "horrible tempest," generated in the foul atmosphere of popery, which made the scholar groan and writhe so fearfully,

students of the Bible were multiplying by scores and hundreds in Oxford, Cambridge, London, and elsewhere; and the Holy Spirit was following the word with his own demonstrations. D'Aubigné says: "In private chambers, in lecture-rooms and refectories, students, and even masters of arts, were to be seen reading the Greek and Latin Testament."

Thomas Bilney was one of the first to come into collision with Rome under the influence of the revival of God's forgotten and concealed word. He was a hard student, and a man of tender conscience and serene manners. He had tried to keep the commandments of God, but always failed. In his agonies of conscience he had recourse to confession, penance, fastings, and vigils; but all without finding relief to his burdened soul. He had spent all his means in paying for indulgences, but was forced to exclaim, "Alas, my last state is worse than the first!" He began to entertain serious doubts whether, after all, the priests might not be seeking their own interests instead of the salvation of his soul. He heard of "the new book," but dared not breathe a desire to see it. Finally, with great misgivings, even with terror and trembling, he procured "the Greek and Latin Testament." He fled to his room, as a thief would fly to a place of concealment with stolen goods, shut himself up, and began to turn over the leaves of the forbidden book. The first words which his eyes caught were these: "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." "What!" exclaimed he; "St. Paul the chief of sinners, and St. Paul is sure of being saved." He read the passage over and over, and then exclaimed, "O assertion of St. Paul, how sweet thou art to my soul!"

He was melted down, and soon found his thirsty soul refreshed with the waters of life. He was never weary with reading the Scriptures; he felt their power and imbibed their spirit until he was seized with an intense desire to publish their doctrines to the world of perishing sinners. He commenced preaching salvation through Christ alone. He was opposed with the Romish dogmas, and he defended himself with the sword of the Spirit. On one occasion he listened to a famous orator, who undertook to prove that it is useless to preach conversion to sinners. He was filled with grief, and exclaimed, "Alas! for so many years that this deadly doctrine has been taught in Christendom not one man has dared to open his mouth against it." This bold language gave great offense to the priests, and they began to plot his ruin. He, retiring to his room, fell upon his knees, and called upon God to come to the help of his Church. Then, rising, he exclaimed with rapture: "A new time is

beginning. The Christian assembly is about to be renovated. Some one is coming unto us; I see him—I hear him; it is Jesus Christ. He is the King, and it is he who will call the true ministers, commissioned to evangelize the world."

Frith and Tyndale were led to Christ by the same process—studying the Scriptures and applying them to their own hearts without priestly intervention. Latimer heard the simple-minded, earnest Bilney, and was won over to "the new method of salvation," as it was called by the priests, and began to proclaim it with great fervor in his lectures and sermons.

True to her hellish instincts, Rome now undertook to quench this flame in blood. Her minions commenced their attacks at what they considered the weakest points. Thomas Man, an artisan, was condemned and burned alive on the 29th of March, 1519; and on the 4th of April five men and a poor widow were burned in Coventry, for teaching their children the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and the ten commandments, in English. Bilney was arrested, and for the time his faith was staggered. The priests prevailed upon him to sign a recantation; but the act harassed his conscience, until he thought nothing could atone for it but martyrdom. He resumed his public preaching, and was again arrested, and now he looked into the fire without alarm. In 1550, with many other noble confessors, Thomas Bilney fell before the cruel and blind zeal of Henry VIII., who, "father of the Reformation," as he is styled by Romish writers, sacrificed the noblest of the English Reformers upon the altar of popery.

Luther was now thundering in Germany, and his works were brought across the Channel and translated into English. Henry VIII. earnestly seconded the persecuting measures of the bishops, and undertook to break a spear with the great German reformer in the field of controversy. He wrote a book against Luther and the Reformation, for which he received from the pope the title of "Defender of the Faith," of which he was particularly proud, and which the Protestant sovereigns of England, with singular inconsistency, have retained.

There was now a loud call for a free circulation of the Scriptures in the English tongue, and a new English version was a desideratum. Wiclif's translation was made from the Vulgate, a version which, although it contains the substantial facts and principles of the original Scriptures, is nevertheless exceedingly defective. Besides this, the English language had undergone considerable changes since that translation was made; and, consequently, a translation, to be intelligible and acceptable, must be made in the improved style



of the language. Tyndale was a good Hebrew and Greek scholar, and he conceived the idea of bringing out the greatly needed new translation of the Bible. When he had made considerable progress in the undertaking, his patron and friend, who had harbored him and given him all necessary facilities for the prosecution of his work, found it impossible to secrete or protect him longer. While Vulcan was forging armor in his closet, Jove was preparing thunderbolts for his head. Tyndale now found means to escape to the continent, where, after the example of Luther at Wortburg, he closeted himself, and prosecuted his work with the greatest zeal. Frith followed Tyndale, and rendered him great assistance. The Bible was finally printed (first in parts, and then entire) in good English, translated from the Hebrew and Greek. The work was sent to England through some Dutch merchants who had trading houses in London, and was scattered everywhere. One edition followed another, and the utmost vigilance of the popish party was not sufficient to prevent them from being purchased and read. Tyndale was hunted by the pope's minions, but, assisted by good friends and God's gracious providence, he escaped them. He forged his weapons in Germany, and they did good service in England. The books were condemned, hunted, and burned; but still they multiplied. Tunstall, Bishop of London, purchased nearly a whole edition of them, and publicly burned them in London; and Tyndale used the money which he received for them from his printer to pay his debts and to bring out a more perfect edition.

Persecution was now fierce. The Bible, the "Gospellers," the readers of the Bible, and the hearers of the Gospel, were seized and burned upon the same pile; and yet Bibles, preachers, readers of the Bible, and hearers of the preaching, were multiplied, to the astonishment of the pope's myrmidons, and in defiance of the iron rod of old Harry, and the sleepless vigilance of his argus-eyed police.

Thus far the English Reformation had been carried on by the instrumentality of Englishmen. It was not an offshoot of the German plant. It had its origin in the exhumation of God's word, first by Wiclif, and then by Erasmus and Tyndale. It was an evident work of God, originating in no human policy, having no connection with governments, cabinets, or courts, and having little connection with the German movement. The English Reformation had an earlier origin than that of Germany, under Luther. The two movements were in the same direction, and originated in the same great necessities, but were not, as has been generally supposed, related as antecedent and sequence.

Let us next take a brief survey of the court of Henry VIII., and the movements prevailing there, which were destined to exert an important influence upon the Reformation. Wolsey was the son of a butcher at Ipswich. By the force of his talents and management, he succeeded in reaching the highest eminence both in Church and state; with the exception, that he was neither king nor pope. He was made Archbishop of York, he received from the pope a cardinal's hat, and was constituted the pope's legate, and he was Lord High Chancellor of England. In fact, Wolsey governed both the Church and the state, and having no need of a Parliament, none was convened during his administration. He lived in the greatest splendor, and amassed great wealth. His arrogance, and the magnificence of his equipage, made him hated by the people. He was a great favorite with the pope, and was courted and flattered by the crowned heads of Europe. The height of his ambition was the *tiara*, and to this end he labored and intrigued during the greater portion of his official life. When Leo X. died he fully expected to succeed him, but his plans were frustrated by the Emperor Charles V., who gave the weight of his influence to the Cardinal of Tortora, and he was consequently elected. Wolsey was outrageous, and swore vengeance.

Henry VIII. had married Catharine of Aragon, a Spanish princess, widow of his brother Arthur, and aunt to the Emperor Charles V. Wolsey, true to his vow, undertook to strike the emperor over the shoulders of Catharine. He accordingly suggested to Henry some pious doubts as to the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. He urged that, in case of his death, the legitimacy of the Princess Mary would be questioned, and this would involve the nation in imminent peril. This was the real origin of the famous question of "the divorce" which figures so largely in the history of the Reformation. It was a spite measure of Wolsey to punish the emperor for preventing his accession to the papedom. "The first terms of the divorce were put forward by me," said Wolsey to the French ambassador. "I did it, to cause a lasting separation between the houses of England and Burgundy."

Wolsey well understood the temper of the king, and was not disappointed to find him susceptible at the particular point at which he made his attack. To prepare the way for the more speedy consummation of his nefarious scheme, he made an attempt to turn the attention of the king to Margaret of Valois, sister to Francis I., King of France. Henry set his face in another direction. The wily cardinal soon found that Anne Boleyn, no especial friend of his, was likely to succeed Queen Catharine. Henry revealed his "scru-

ples of conscience" to learned jurists and theologians, who generally gave him opinions according to his known wishes. After many fearful struggles of mind, and under infinite terror lest he should lose his soul for having married contrary to the Divine law, King Henry made an humble prayer to the pope for a decretal of divorce from Catharine. A messenger was dispatched by Catharine to the emperor, who immediately presented her remonstrance to the pope. The successor of St. Peter was now in deep trouble. He was so situated, that he had no alternative between offending Henry or Charles, and either was to him a very serious business. He shuddered at the consequences, whichever course he should pursue. Henry sent to Rome, upon this business, his most skillful diplomats, and they plied the pope, first with entreaties and then with threats, until the supreme head of the Church was really almost distracted. "Would to God," said he, "that Catharine were in her grave! But, alas! she lives to be the apple of discord, dividing the two greatest monarchs, and the inevitable cause of the ruin of the popedom! Wretched man that I am! how cruel is my perplexity, and around me I can see nothing but horrible confusion." Henry's agents urged the Scripture argument against a man's marrying his brother's wife, and that the supreme head of the Church should do right, regardless of consequences. The pope replied: "I tell you again, I am ignorant of these matters. According to the maxims of the canon law, the pope carries all laws in the tablets of his heart, but, unfortunately, God has never given me the key that opens them." When he was told that the king would proceed without him, he sighed, and wiped his eyes, exclaiming: "Would to God that I were dead!"

What a spectacle! The wearer of the triple crown quails, and trembles, and weeps like a child, when pressed, as his advocates say, to violate his *conscience*! What a vicar of Christ this! Shades of the martyrs! behold this glorious successor of St. Peter suffering a lingering martyrdom for conscience' sake, and give him your sympathies.

The pope finally thought he saw a little light upon the subject of the divorce. Charles V. and Francis I., King of France, were at war, and the French arms were victorious. As matters now shaped, the ruin of the emperor's cause in Italy was probable. The plan now pressed by the anxious Henry was "a *commission*" appointed by the pope to hear the cause in England, and the pope's decretal sanctioning "the judgment." This was not quite the thing for Gardiner, Henry's envoy, as the pope might at any moment annul the judgment, or, indeed, never give it his sanction. Finally, the pope

was pressed into the measure of signing the decretal, and dispatching Cardinal Campeggio to England. The nuncio was instructed to keep the decretal a secret, to move tardily, and watch the progress of events. Campeggio set off for England, and being old and infirm, he proceeded slowly. Before he had left the Continent the fortunes of the war turned in favor of the emperor, and the pope sent a messenger after his nuncio with orders to destroy the decretal, which was accordingly done. Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey were appointed by the pope to examine and decide the momentous question. The court was finally opened, and the parties appeared. Catharine protested against the jurisdiction of the court, and appealed to the pope. One adjournment succeeded another, and the sessions of the dignified judges amounted to nothing. The pope's nuncio was true to his instructions, and he resisted all the solicitations of the king and Wolsey to publish the pope's decretal, and make an end of the matter; for they saw that the cunning old fox was merely killing time, under the pope's secret instructions. They knew not, however, that the decretal had been consigned to the flames.

The pope finally had determined upon his measures. He could not offend the emperor with safety to his rule or even his person, and he resolved to decline granting the divorce, when he could no longer stave off the question. The nuncio was urged by Henry to "restore peace to his troubled conscience," and he promised to "deliver judgment in five days." When that time had expired the court was opened, and all was expectation. The king and his nobles were present. The legates of the holy see were upon their seats. The nuncio arose with great deliberation and dignity, and said: "The general vacation of the harvest and vintage being observed every year by the court of Rome, dating from to-morrow, the 24th of July, the beginning of the dog-days, we adjourn to some future period the conclusion of these pleadings." The audience was thunderstruck. "A high hope and a low having," sure enough. The faithful nuncio, but hypocritical judge, returned to his master to receive the commendation which his fidelity to the holy see had earned.

Henry VIII. now gave up all hope of aid from the pope, and resolved to take another course. He was in the mean time summoned to appear at Rome for the trial of the cause. This summons he treated with contempt. He submitted the question of his divorce to the universities, and took his course in defiance of papal thunder. The breach was complete. Henry assumed the headship of the Church in England, took possession of the immense treasures hoarded up in the monasteries, and deprived the pope's faithful

servants of their honors and emoluments. Wolsey fell into disgrace, and died with anguish, and thus, it is presumed, escaped the block.

The English mind had become thoroughly disgusted with the chicanery and intrigues of the court of Rome in the divorce case, and, in a manner, had become finally reconciled to a proceeding which at first was decidedly unpopular. The principles of the Reformation had taken deep hold of the popular mind. Notwithstanding the ceaseless vigilance of the persecuting bishops and priests, the Scriptures were read in the private rooms of the universities, in the garrets and cellars of the laboring classes, and were working as leaven in the meal. Henry now saw himself in a false position, renouncing his allegiance to the pope, and yet burning and beheading Protestants. The leading Protestant doctors now came into favor, and the interests of Rome declined. Cranmer was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops and priests who refused to give in their adherence to the king's supremacy, either left the kingdom or were committed to the Tower.

The Romish writers say that the English Reformation was a mere political change effected by Henry VIII., in resentment, because the pope had too much conscience to grant him a divorce from his lawful wife. He once heard Archbishop Hughes make this statement. A more outrageous falsehood was never uttered. In the first place, be it known, that the Reformation was fully established in the English mind long before the pope's decision in the divorce case, and achieved its triumphs in spite of the persecuting policy of the papacy, seconded by the power of the crown. In the second place, it must not be forgotten that, according to his own confession, the divorce was first proposed by Cardinal Wolsey, the pope's legate, and, in fact, the greatest man in the Church of Rome, only inferior in office and position to the pope himself. Thirdly, let it be understood, that the pope had no conscience about it. If Charles V. had been driven from Italy by the arms of Francis I., and had thus lost his power over the see of Rome, the divorce would have been proclaimed in the Vatican with great solemnity, without the delay of a week. And how came his holiness so far to tamper with his conscience as to cause to be drawn up, and duly executed, a decretal, declaring the divorce, and to authorize its publication in England upon certain contingencies which were then likely to occur? "The pope too much conscience!" Sorrows of Werter! How many divorces have the popes granted without the least theological or moral reason whatever? What contract is so sacred that they have not annulled it? What social tie have they not rup-

tured? What law of God or man have they not trampled upon? Talk of the pope's *conscience*! A pope can have no conscience. Satan himself has a conscience as much as any pope of Rome for the last thousand years.

Henry VIII. died in 1546, and his son by Jane Seymour, a mere child, succeeded him, taking the name of Edward VI. The prince was educated under Protestant influences, and was in all respects a remarkable youth. He promoted the Reformation, causing the service of the Church of England to be established by act of Parliament. That beautiful prayer which has been adopted and poured forth from thousands upon thousands of pious hearts, was composed by him: "Cleanse thou the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee and worthily magnify thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Edward always had a feeble constitution, and died in 1553, having reigned seven years. Had he been physically as vigorous as his father, and lived as long, the Church of England would have been established upon a more liberal and evangelical footing. That Church has never been so purely *Protestant* as it was during Edward's short reign.

Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catherine of Aragon, succeeded Edward VI.; and, notwithstanding she had given pledges in advance that she would not disturb the existing order of things, she turned over the kingdom to the pope, recalled the Romish bishops, and deprived the Reformers. In 1554, under the promptings of the infamous Bonner, she commenced a furious persecution, in which Hooper, Ferrar, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer were burned at the stake in Smithfield. Many others, among whom were men and women in common life, received the crown of martyrdom under this reign. These sanguinary proceedings procured for this queen the just but unenviable title of "Bloody Mary." Thanks to a merciful Providence, her reign was short. Five years terminated her career of blood.

Smithfield, whence the noble martyrs above referred to went to heaven, was afterward, and until recently, a cattle-market in the midst of London. In 1846 we visited the scene of the fearful tragedies enacted under the reign of Catholic Mary, with feelings of mingled pleasure and pain. Thank God, the days of persecution in the British Isles have passed, as we trust, never to return.

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn, succeeded Mary, and was crowned in 1558. Elizabeth expelled the papacy, and restored the Reformation. She repealed all the popish laws which had been enacted under the reign of Mary, and established



her own supremacy over the Church. By a bull of Pius V. she was deprived of her kingdom, and her subjects absolved from their allegiance to her government. Her Tudor spirit did not quail under the pope's anathemas, but flung them back upon his head, and lashed his treacherous vassals out of her dominions. Elizabeth was a lover of learning, and having given herself to study during her imprisonment under the reign of Mary, she had mastered five or six languages. The Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, as at present found, were settled during her reign. Numerous feuds and many executions grew out of the pope's bull of privation and anathema. Elizabeth made no compromise with popish rebels, but they, with their schemes, were dashed to pieces with little ceremony. She administered the government for *forty-five* years, and attained a high rank among the crowned heads of Europe.

Two types of opinions were associated in the English Church, which still remain there. One is the High Church, or Romish type; and the other is the Low Church, or Puritan type. The first is represented by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Sancroft; and the second by Cranmer, Jewell, Hooker, Burnet, Stillingfleet, and others. The ultra spirits of the High Church party became Romanists, while the ultras of the other party became Dissenters. Jewell considered the particular form of Church government a matter for the Church to determine, and he held to episcopacy, and revived episcopal ordination, upon that principle, while he declared the Romish Church to be antichrist. The English Church is like the Shunammite in the Songs: there is seen in her as it were "the company of two armies."

The English Church has been called "the bulwark of Protestantism." As Protestantism becomes a state institution this is just; but as Protestantism is a principle, and a form of spiritual life, it is not true. The principle and vital power of Protestantism constitute but a minor portion of the composition of the English Church. Protestantism is in England, and potent for good there; but its exponent is to be found in the evangelical Churches. The Church of England is more of a state institution than it is a Protestant Church. Its heterogeneous materials never can unite, and it is crippled by its connection with the government, and especially by the royal supremacy. It contains both papists and Puritans, and they are eternal antagonisms.

Separating the royal and parliamentary acts establishing the regimen of the English Church, from the great moral and doctrinal revolutions which were their antecedents, instead of being their fruits or results, it is plain enough that the English Reformation was not

the creature of Henry VIII., or of any other merely human agency ; but was one of the great demonstrations of evangelism intervening between the day of pentecost and the millennium.

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#### ART. IV.—WHITTIER'S POEMS.

*The Poems of John Greenleaf Whittier.* Two volumes, 32mo., pp. 320, 304.  
Boston : Ticknor and Fields. 1857.

HERE are two neat volumes, bound in tasteful blue and gold, and handsomely printed by one of the most judicious of Boston publishing houses. They contain, it is true, but little that has not before been presented to the reading public in other forms ; almost all of the poems in them having been read and weighed long ago, either in other volumes or in the periodical literature of the day. Yet the publication of this many times read and often quoted poetry, in this eye-pleasing form, is a just tribute to the noble-minded author, one of the most truly affectioned and most genuinely inspired poets of modern times. The books, and their binding, their types, paper, and bodily presence, are an honor to the worshipful bookmaking craft of Boston. The writings of Whittier are on such topics, and in such a spirit, as are best suited to the demands of an age like the present. These volumes gather them all, and bind them in as neat a setting as gems could desire ; "apples of gold in pictures of silver."

Whittier was born in 1808, in Amesbury, Massachusetts, on the banks of the then idle and rural, but now the busy and city-studded, though still sweet and picturesque Merrimack : a river which these poems fitly celebrate. He is a bachelor, tall and spare ; of delicate health ; of simple, unostentatious habits ; of disposition retiring, even to bashfulness ; an ardent lover of nature and of human goodness ; a bold admirer of radical freedom of thought, and strict law-abiding acting ; a most hearty hater of all cant, hypocrisy, meanness, and illiberality ; and an enthusiastic asserter, and a fearless, untiring defender of the inalienable rights of conscience and human liberty. He has written on almost everything, from religion to business, and even the petty details of town politics, and on all these topics he has written in prose and rhyme. His pen has been at all times in his ink-horn, ready to obey the dictates of its master's great and loving heart. And it has been kept busy, writing for the party, the

literary, and the reform newspapers of the age, and for the anniversaries of numerous associations of enthusiastic philanthropists, and the meetings of charitable societies of honest and benevolent women, who labor and pray for the coming of the better time. He has written in honor of the memory of the noble dead, who suffered for truth and freedom in other days, and on topics of current literary and critical interest; deeming, very justly, no subject too humble for his notice, if the attention of men was so aroused as that, upon it, a true and hearty word could be said, which should readily command for itself a patient and a promising hearing. Almost every day, therefore, notwithstanding his feebleness of body, he has sent out a little waif—always with a glowing torch in it—to float its moment, its hour, or its year, upon the disturbed waters of the times, to please the weary watchers for the promises of the coming day, or to light a little space on the gloomy abyss, and guide some one, endangered by the vicinity of cruel rocks, in the direction of safety.

These fragments, for they are hardly more, though made of diamond, are in all its forms; now well polished, and now rough; noble poems at one time, and little more than doggerels at another; essays, tales, novels, odes, sketches, criticisms, biographies, tirades, philippics, orations almost, and almost epics in spirit and conceptions, at least, if not in execution. They touch, of course, on almost every subject of moral interest; but the key-note of nearly all is found in intense hatred both of civil and ecclesiastical oppression and intolerance; in keen and enthusiastic love for nature, truth, right, justice, and freedom; and they display shrewd and patient observation of all the varying moods of nature and humanity. In the literary world Whittier is sometimes regarded as exclusively an anti-slavery poet; yet, among all our American writers of verse, there is not another who better knows nature in all her grandeur and beauty, in all her whims of smile and frown, of peace and strife; who can so heartily sympathize with man in all his trials and aspirations, in all his hopes and fears, in all his agonies and exultations; and who can better describe the varying glories of landscape and season, and better speak the emotions and struggles of the great soul of the race. And his poetry, though bristling with epithets of bitterest denunciation of human bondage and cruel wrong, though burning with almost implacable ire against the practices of Churchmen and statesmen, who fear to utter the true word, or cower to speak the false, has still little that is offensive to any one who hears in it the great cry of human want and woe, and who sympathizes with and admires unflinching courage and noble, heroic devotion to principle.

This collection, called complete, contains separate pieces that count one hundred and ninety-five. They are of divers lengths, from forty pages to less than half of one. They are on a vast variety of topics, many apparently discordant, but all full of lyric fire, tender sweetness, or holy faith. They touch all the keys in the great diapason of song, from the grand anthem of "Peace on earth, good will to man," to the humble song that requites the simple gift of a flower. And while it is safe to say, that it would be tiresome to read them all consecutively, it would by no means be untrue to say that not one is here, that may not, at the proper time, be read with great delight and profit. These poems are grouped together in the volumes, very properly, under several distinct heads, according to their evident design and purpose, or with reference to the topics of which they treat. Thus we have in the opening two of the longer poems, which are tales of the early times of New-England; then a family of ten poems, entitled "Legendary;" following which are thirty-eight, called "The Voices of Freedom;" and last in the first volume, a crowd of some thirty or more, named "Miscellaneous." The second volume contains "The Songs of Labor," "The Chapel of the Hermits," "The Panorama," Ballads, and several groups of Miscellaneous. Some of these divisions are too well known to need any formal introduction to any class of readers. It may not, however, be amiss to analyze them more at large.

By the Songs of Freedom Whittier has been more widely known than by any other of his writings; and in any notice of him and his poems, these very properly may be first commented on. These pieces were written at different times during the discussion of the question of Slavery in New-England, from 1833 to 1849, when they were first collected and published together. They are in many respects the poet's best verses, and many of the miscellaneous poems might be classed among them. They are spirited, are often smooth in versification, sweet in diction, harmonious in rhythm, and contain many of his most vividly sketched and most appropriately colored descriptions. The opening of the poem entitled, "Toussaint l'Overture," is rich and luxuriant almost beyond imagination. It describes a scene of tropical moonlight, such as sinks into the soul, and fills it with a sense of beauty too deep for words. The ability to sketch a broad landscape with a word or an epithet, in the hurried generalizing manner of Sir Walter Scott, is seen in parts of the "World's Convention, and in the "Crisis." In this division, too, are some of his most stirring appeals, as in "The Song of the Free;" and some of his most tender and sympathetic verses, as in the "Farewell—A Slave Mother's Lament over her Daughters;"

and in the "Slaves of Martinique," certainly one of the noblest songs of deathless love and devotion to duty in any language. But the chief excellence of these Songs of Freedom is their elevated moral tone, and the grandeur of their faith in God and his eternal truth and justice, in the midst of the most complete seeming of triumph of wrong and oppression, and even in the failure of all hitherto made attempts to awaken men to a sense of their accountability, and to induce them to remember the truth and to do the right. The grandeur, the dignity, and hardships attendant on the discussion of the practical, every-day sins and wrongs of the world, and the long-waiting, dreary discouragements, and disheartening conflicts of opinion, in any moral warfare, as compared with the severest military and revolutionary struggles of any people, are thus sung in a poem entitled, "*The Moral Warfare.*"

"When Freedom, on her natal day,  
Within her war-rock'd cradle lay,  
An iron race around her stood,  
Baptized her infant brows in blood;  
And, through the storm which round her swept,  
Their constant ward and watching kept.

"Then, where our quiet herds repose,  
The roar of baleful battle rose,  
And brethren of a common tongue  
To mortal strife as tigers sprung,  
And every gift on Freedom's shrine  
Was man for beast, and blood for wine.

"Our fathers to their graves have gone;  
Their strife is past—their triumph won;  
But sterner trials wait the race  
Which rises in their honor'd place—  
A moral warfare with the crime  
And folly of an evil time.

"So let it be. In God's own might  
We gird us for the coming fight,  
And, strong in Him whose cause is ours,  
In conflict with unholy powers,  
We grasp the weapons he has given—  
The Light, and Truth, and Love of Heaven!"

Vol. i, p. 156.

This division glows with the fire of an ardent and loving sympathy with the labors of the great and good men who have been freedom's champions and her forlorn hope, in her almost reckless attempts upon the bustling citadels of error in all ages. Whittier can feel as they felt, and can speak those feelings as hardly another can. He thus recalls to the recollection of mankind their names

and deeds, covered, indeed, with its own appropriate glory; but still a glory that only anointed eyes can see, till it has been told in words, and by these words he causes the full blaze of a beacon-light to shine out of their ashes to illuminate the dark places of the present, and to irradiate the pathway of ages yet to come. The "Pean," written in 1848, is full of spirit and life, and well illustrates this thought. Its touching and hopeful charity is also worthy of note. It speaks thus of the unselfish lives and the strong courage in death of those who have labored to renovate the earth; but who have passed away before the seed they had sown sprang up from the bloody, war-torn soil where they had scattered it in night and gloom.

"They died—their brave hearts breathing slow—  
But self-forgetful to the last,  
In words of cheer and bugle blow  
Their breath upon the darkness past."

But when the morning comes, there comes a change; and thus hopefully is a truth of deep significance beautifully spoken:

"Like mists before the growing light,  
The battle cohorts melt away;  
Our frowning foemen of the night  
Are brothers at the dawn of day!"

Vol. i, pp. 203, 204.

The "Lines suggested by a visit to the City of Washington, in the 12th month, 1845," form a grand poem. They are not cast in the best mold for poetic grace, though the stanza is one capable, beyond almost any other, of carrying a burden of meaning. The long line at the end of each verse interrupts the easy flow and melody of the poetry, though it might be difficult to decide, whether it is the ponderous sentiment or the tardy measure that seems to fetter the verse. The poet stands near the Capitol, and looks over the "half-built town," in the cold moonlight of a winter evening, and as he gazes down on the prison and the gay houses, he hears a voice, still and silent to other ears, and thus makes it audible and powerful to the ear of mankind:

"To thy duty now and ever!  
Dream no more of rest or stay!  
Give to Freedom's great endeavor  
All thou hast and art to-day!"

Thus above the city's murmur saith a voice, or seems to say.



"O, my brothers! O, my sisters!  
 Would to God that ye were near,  
 Gazing with me down the vistas  
 Of a sorrow strange and drear;  
 Would to God that ye would listen to the voice I seem to hear!

"With the storm above us driving,  
 With the false earth moved below—  
 Who shall marvel if thus striving  
 We have counted friend for foe!  
 Unto one another giving, in the darkness, blow for blow.

"Be it so. It should not swerve us  
 From a purpose true and brave;  
 Dearer Freedom's rugged service  
 Than the portion of the slave;  
 Better is the storm above it than the quiet of the grave.

"Let us then uniting, bury  
 All our idle feuds in dust,  
 And to future conflicts carry  
 Mutual faith and common trust;  
 Always, he who most forgiveth in his brother, is most just."

Vol. i, pp. 192-4.

"The Curse of the Charter Breakers" is as fine in conception as it is sweet in melody, and strong in language and thought. It describes the old ceremony that twice a year took place in the great hall of Westminster, when the bishops, in presence of the king and lords, pronounced the curse of excommunication against the man who should infringe the liberties granted by *MAGNA CHARTA*. After the description, it goes on to proclaim, in words like those of the old prophets, the duty of the priesthood.

"Tell me not that this must be:  
 God's true priest is always free;  
 Free, the needed truth to speak,  
 Right the wrong'd, and raise the weak.

"His to work as well as pray,  
 Clearing thorny wrongs away;  
 Plucking up the weeds of sin,  
 Letting heaven's warm sunshine in."—Vol. i, p. 213.

But the most touching, and tenderest of all, is "The Slaves of Martinique." It must be read more than once to be fully appreciated; but when understood it tells a sublime lesson to the hearts of all.

"God is Love, saith the Evangel; and our world of woe and sin  
 Is made light and happy only, when a Love is shining in."

Vol. i, p. 215.

If any one can read the above-named poems, or the "Crisis," written at the conclusion of our late war with Mexico, with dry eyes and unmoved heart, he is by no means to be envied; and if he does

not become a better man all his days thereafter for that reading, and feel his body grow stronger and his blood flow faster, he is not made of that sort of clay which enters into the composition of most men, and of the best men too. Many of these "Songs of Freedom" have been sung all over the country, at elections, mass meetings, anniversaries, and at social concerts; and they have contributed largely to stir the hearts of the young to desire and to labor for a better day in our political affairs. They have thrilled chords in many an American heart, that still vibrate to their self-denying strains, and still echo all their solemn spirit of daring, and their determination both to be free, and free only, in following the dictates of truth and righteousness. Their effect has been almost as magical (though, in the cool calculating Yankee, its manifestations are very different from what they were in the excitable Frenchman) as that of the wonderful Marseillaise. Their mission is not yet fully accomplished. They are on the most exciting topics of this or any other age, and they are among the best songs ever written on topics, in one sense seeming so temporary and of such momentary interest. The secret of their worth and power under such circumstances, is found partly in the insight of the poet to discover in these occasions and incidents a deeper significance than other men see, and in his skill to reveal by words that significance to the eyes of all. It is the sculptor's power, so often alluded to, of finding the perfect form and features of a goddess, in the shapeless block of marble; and his ability to chip off all extraneous matter, and let the divine excellence stand forth for itself. Thus, in every incident of business, in every accident of life, the poet sees something divine, and carefully scales off all that encumbers that divinity, and permits it to be revealed in all its transcendent loveliness.

"'Tis his, the seer-like power to show  
The secrets of the heart and mind;  
To drop the plummet line below  
Our common world of joy and woe,  
A more intense despair or brighter hope to find."

Vol. i. Dedication.

And although Whittier may deny that he has this power, yet its effect is everywhere visible, throughout all the pages of these songs. And it fills them with a stirring life and magnetic fire that rouse the soul and elevate the moral courage of mankind, as do the notes of the bugle the hearts of a mountain-bred soldiery, when, in the clear air of morning, their echoes play and shout among the beetling crags. As those bugle tones wake all the sleeping tongues of grot and hillside, of rock and vale, and make the whole heaven and earth vocal with redoubled harmonies, so do these soul-inspiring poems

awaken answering voices in millions of hearts, before seemingly silent and dead to the noble harmonies and sublime melodies of love and freedom. Yet, as those echoes cannot be immortal, but must soon fade and die by their own repetition, so these songs cannot always live. The occasions that called them forth must be forgotten, and finally will be erased from the ever-diminishing catalogue of human record; and with this erasure, in many cases, will the song sink into forgetfulness. Still, however, if both the notes of the poet's silver bugle and the answering echoes it has aroused in the hearts of men shall all perish, and even be forgotten, the influences and the forces these have warmed into life in the world will never so perish. From soul to soul this blessed contagion of love and energetic zeal for the holy cause of freedom shall spread, till the last man shall stand in lone despair, or in rapt triumph, on the verge of time's furthest precipice; and even beyond the dismal flood the power and affection here rekindled by them shall labor and glow forever and forever.

It is, however, when Whittier leaves these high and exciting themes, and turns to the tender rehearsal of New England traditions, of Indian wars and Puritan persecutions, and to the description of New England scenery and customs; when he comes to the remembrance of old Quaker legends of bold defiance of power, and of calm, uncomplaining endurance of wrong, he at once abandons all the chanting tones of hortatory sanctimoniousness, and sings and speaks so naturally and so truthfully, that not only saints respond, but even the heart of universal humanity admires. Set him down among the maples of the Merrimack, the oaks of the Amoskeag, or the pines of the Saco; let him wander anywhere in Maine, with her ocean bays, her inland-opening rivers, and her lumber-giving forests; in New Hampshire, with her snow-mantled mountains, and her cloud-fed streams, accumulating power to drive the weaver's shuttle; or in eastern Massachusetts, with her fresh, corn-clad hills, and her fresher traditions of haughty protest against hoary power; and, altogether forgetting the arts of the politician, as well as the drawl and snuffle of the self-conscious philanthropist, he becomes the poet of nature, and sings with a freedom of manner and voice such as characterizes the thrush, which warbles, not because he has been asked to enchant the grove, or because he particularly desires to entertain the neighborhood, but because the sunshine warms the love and music in his soul, and makes them bubble forth in an irrepressible stream of melody. The poems more specially referred to now, are those contained in the first part of each volume, and the miscellaneous pieces scattered throughout the collection; and they

make frequent allusion to those thoughts which are the common seed, as well as the "common soil of song," and which "bloom the wide world over," boyhood's early home and love, and nature's "immortal freshness" and varying beauty. Here he permits the great and unutterable voices of nature, love, human sympathy, and fellowship, to sing themselves in good old English words, the best adapted to poetry, because the best and most speedily understood by the people, and because they do, in fact, bear in themselves a part of the very life and soul of that people. In this division are "The Bridal of Pennacook," and "Mogg Megone," the two longest pieces in the volumes, and the two, apparently, least valued by the author himself.

The Bridal of Pennacook is strictly an Indian legend, and is, in form, a series of pictures and incidents, all having reference to the marriage of the daughter of Passiconnaway, chief and conjurer, or bashaba, of the Pentucket Indians, who dwelt on the Merrimack, in New-Hampshire, to Winneparkit, sachem of the Saugus tribe, who dwelt on the sea-shore to the east of Boston. These pictures are strung together very loosely, though naturally, by connecting them with the history of the maiden who was the Bride of Pennacook. This is the history and plan.

The poet and four companions—two brothers, one a lawyer, the other a clergyman, and a merchant with his daughter—have been wandering among the White Mountains, and are detained by a storm in an excellent inn in Conway. The poet reads an Indian tradition,

"A story of the marriage of the chief  
Of Saugus to the dusky Westamoo ;

\* \* \* \* \*  
The fair one, in the playful exercise  
Of her prerogative—the right divine  
Of youth and beauty—bade us versify  
The legend."

This the poet proceeds to do in a series of beautiful descriptive songs. First he sings "The Merrimack :—"

"The child of that white-crested mountain, whose springs  
Gush forth in the shade of the cliff-eagle's wings."

Next he sings the "Bashaba," whose wigwam is thus set before us :

"Roof of bark and walls of pine,  
Through whose chinks the sunbeams shine,  
Tracing many a golden line  
On the ample floor within,

Where, upon the earth-floor stark,  
Lay the gaudy mats of bark,  
With the bear's skin, rough and dark,  
And the red deer's hide.

" Window tracery, small and slight,  
Woven of the willow white,  
Lent a dimly-checker'd light,  
And the night-stars glimmer'd down,  
Where the lodge-fire's heavy smoke,  
Slowly through the opening broke,  
In the low roof, ribb'd with oak,  
Sheathed with hemlock brown."

After relating the wonderful tales of the might and power of this bashaba, who could do all things, according to the current tradition among the Indians of the wilderness, he thus proceeds to speak of the power of a resolute will :

" Still, to such, life's elements  
With their sterner laws dispense,  
And the chain of consequence  
Broken in their pathway lies,  
Time and change their vassals making,  
Flowers from icy pillows waking,  
Tresses of the sunrise shaking  
Over midnight skies.

" Still, to earnest souls, the sun  
Rests on tower'd Gibeon,  
And the moon of Ajalon  
Lights the battle-ground of life;  
To his aid the strong reverses,  
Hidden powers of giant forces,  
And the high stars in their courses,  
Mingle in his strife."—Vol. i, pp. 12, 13.

Another rhyme very enthusiastically sings the " Daughter " of the bashaba; how, when her mother was dead, she grew up to be her father's only joy, a light-hearted Indian maiden, simple and in sympathy with nature :

" Enough for her to be  
Of common, natural things a part;  
To feel, with bird, and stream, and tree,  
The pulses of the same great heart."

But with all her fondness for her cold, stern father and for nature, there

" Rose on the ground of her young dreams  
The light of a new home—the lover and the wife!"

Wherefore the next pearl of the string commemorates the " Wedding," in a very tripping, hurried measure, full of liquid Indian names. It sings the feast and the dance in a spirit worthy of the

olden time. Then comes the "New Home" on the sea-shore, where, instead of mountain and waterfalls, the bride saw

"A wild and broken landscape, spiked with firs;"

yet her woman's heart was content with the cold love of her stern warrior husband, and her affection throve still,

"As o'er some granite wall,  
Soft ivy leaves open to the morning dew  
And warm bright sun, the love of that young wife  
Found on a hard, cold breast the dew and warmth of life."

But when spring came the bashaba, who had pined the winter through, sent for his daughter to visit his wigwam. Winneparkit sent her with a brave escort, but was too proud to go for her when Passaconaway sent to tell him the visit was done. So she remained, joyless, among the summer flowers and autumn fruits of her childhood-home. All this is told in a song, "At Pennacook." During the winter, too, she sighed for her new home; and when spring snows were melting, and spring floods were plowing the mountains, her heart can no longer restrain her purpose, and she takes her "Departure," in her frail canoe, down the freshet-swollen Merrimack. The canoe is found whirling idly in an eddy, and the Indian women sing their sad "Lament:"

"We shall hear thee or see thee no more!"

Such is the brief and imperfect outline of a very sweet story of that olden time which we would gladly remember more of, but which is fast fading from the sight of history. May it never fade from the imagination of poesy! Had Whittier written more on such topics, and introduced a greater variety of incidents, as he undoubtedly has power to do, he might have been more widely beloved as a poet; but he could hardly have been so influential as a teacher of truth or so highly valued as a friend and helper of humanity.

"Mogg Megone" is a poem written, says the author, "in early life; and its subject is not such as he would have chosen at any subsequent period." The design is simply to describe early New-England scenery and incidents. While, therefore, the story is of no account, the descriptions are very fine, and painted with the enthusiasm of an artist. With such a purpose in view, the incidents may be very common, and even indifferent, and the whole structure may be as rude as the wigwam of the Indian described. All a lover of good poetry will ask is, that the pictures hung up in it shall be such



as would be prized anywhere, in a temple or in a church. To be sure, men do not build a cabin to hang pictures in, and this is probably why the author is disposed to undervalue this tale. It is, however, to be judged not as a whole thing, but as a series of descriptive poems, connected by the accident of having reference to a particular locality; and the poem should be held sacred as long as it holds some of the most lovely paintings of New-England scenery. There is no plot or art about the thing, for it is the old tale of maiden innocence and unsophisticated trustfulness, of womanly, self-forgetting passion, betrayed and deserted, turned to gall and wormwood, and bursting out into demoniac desire for revenge. An Indian chief, Mogg Megone, is hired to destroy the seducer. When the deed is accomplished and the scalp is laid at her feet, all the maiden's love returns, and in revenge, she, with her own hand, kills the chief, who was intimately connected with the plots of the French for the extirpation of the English settlers from that coast. Ruth Bonython then becomes mad, and wanders forth in the forests alone; and finally, after confessing her crimes to a priest, and being spurned by him on account of his disappointed hopes, she dies beneath a maple, on the banks of a stream, just when the trees are putting forth leaves, and the birds are building nests and filling the grove with their melody. The various characters that figure in the story are not numerous. Ruth and her father, an outlawed Englishman, Mogg Megone, the Catholic priest, and Boomazeen, another Indian chief, if indeed a company of soldiers, who are described rather than introduced, be excepted, are all whom we see or hear. Almost any other story would have answered the same purpose as this, though few would have suited so well to the wild, wierd scenery to be described; rough and rugged rocks, fretted by foaming streams and overhung by somber pines and wierd spruce, are well adapted to the unnatural passions bred by the outlaw in the bosom of his companionless daughter, and to the fierce conflicts of rival settlers with the untamed natives. And then the versification is in varied measure, now sweeping in a galloping pace through long lines of anapestics, and then tripping in nimble trochees; weaving rhymes in all possible patterns, and tying the whole into one brilliant piece of antique tapestry, making light and beautiful pictures of scenery on the dark and gloomy ground of the melancholy tale. Hear the song of forest worship, and see this picture, while the Indian chief, still bloody with the murder of the betrayer of innocence, and the outlawed Bonython, even now plotting the death of that Indian and the plunder of his lands, are together seeking the girl whom the father has promised to that chief as his bride:

"Quickly glancing to and fro,  
 Listening to each sound, they go  
 Round the column of the pine,  
     Indistinct in shadow seeming,  
 Like some old and pillar'd shrine;  
 With the soft and white moonshine,  
 Round the foliage-tracery shed,  
 Of each column's branching head,  
     For its lamps of worship gleaming!  
 And the sounds awaken'd there,  
     In the pine leaves, fine and small,  
     Soft and sweetly musical,  
 By the fingers of the air,  
 For the anthem's dying fall  
 Lingering round some temple's wall!  
 Niche and cornice round and round  
 Wailing like the ghost of sound!  
 Is not nature's worship thus  
     Ceaseless ever, going on?  
 Hath it not a voice for us  
     In the thunder, or the tone  
 Of the leaf-harp faint and small,  
     Speaking to the unseal'd ear  
     Words of blended love and fear,  
 Of the mighty soul of all?"—Vol. i, p. 35.

The first part, in which lies the chief part of the dramatic action and incident, closes with the death of the chief. The second part opens with a gorgeous scene of Indian Summer, on the coasts of Maine, with her thousand islands reflected in the restless waves of ocean. The maiden meets the priest in a rude wilderness chapel, and makes her confession and asks absolution, which the priest, hearing the name of the murdered chieftain, denies; and she wanders again in sadness and loneliness, bearing her own burden, which no hand but one can lift. The third and last part tells how Norridge-wock was taken in battle by the English, and plundered; and how the girl wandered, and at last was found by a band of soldiers, sleeping beneath the maple that long calm sleep that knows no waking.

Following Mogg Megone is the division called "Legendary," consisting of short poems, mostly relating to Indian legends and Quaker traditions. And these are just such poems as a descendant of the Newbury witches, bred up a farmer boy, ought to write when grown to be a man, among the posterity of the old Salem Quakers; and they will thrill many a heart that burns with the hate of oppression. Cassandra Southwick is just such another hymn in spirit as the Hebrew children might have sung after their deliverance from the fire; and is such as the persecuted of all ages have delighted in when their foes have been baffled and overthrown by the might of the Lord. "The Fountain" is clear as crystal itself, and grateful as

the living waters that flow from the springs of Helicon. It would be almost a sacrilege to break it for quotation.

The second volume opens with the "Songs of Labor," six in number, introduced with a very appropriate dedication, in which the poet makes excuse for these humble lays, as he is pleased to call them. Beauty, he says, is its own excuse; but the weed must show a healing virtue, and the ore a use, if they would be honored.

" So haply these, my simple lays  
Of homely toil, may serve to show  
The orchard bloom and tassel'd maize  
That skirt and gladden duty's way,  
The unsung beauty hid life's common things below!"  
Vol. ii, Dedication.

Very spiritedly are these verses sung. But they reveal what cannot always be denied to be a fault of Whittier. They are too long for songs, and too short for tales or essays. A song must be very short, or it cannot be remembered and sung with spirit and vigor. It must be apt for quotation, and full of common feelings and sentiment. It will not do to fill it with learning, or to drape it in a robe of figurative language, not, at the same time, the language of everyday life. The length of these Songs of Labor might very appropriately have given to them the name of Ballads, and under that title they would have been more rightly ranged. "The Ship-builders," however, is a noble ode, and deserves a much more extended reputation and use than it has. And "The Huskers" is a beautiful New-England pastoral. It is really too beautiful for the place in which it stands. Read it, and see how an autumn day and its farm labor can be described. In its simple, sweet old English, there is such a picture of a whole day, morning, noon, and evening, as scarcely another book can show. And the song which

" The master of the village school, sleek of hair and smooth of tongue,  
To the quaint tune of some old psalm, a husking ballad sung,"

is a glorious anthem of exultation and praise. It is devoutly to be wished that the youth of the nation might learn this by heart and prize it as it deserves. It would do more for making frugal, honest, industrious, fearless men than half the colleges in the land without it.

In this second volume are two other poems of more length and pretensions, "The Chapel of the Hermits" and "The Panorama." The first of these is designed as a plea of holy charity for those who differ from us in opinion and in practice, and as a lesson of faith

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or confidence in the final triumph of right and truth; and it is in spirit as sweet as the voice of an angel, and as soothing as the love of a seraph. It has many fine passages of power, but the quotations have already been too much multiplied. The second is a contrast, bold, striking, and truthful, between "a land of the free and a home of the brave," and a country cursed with the crime, the weakness, and the cowardice of the slave. It is the one topic on which Whittier becomes inspired with fierceness and anger; and it would be very unjust to say that he does not well to be angry. For "in all his madness" on this subject, "there is a method" and a power of earnest truthfulness that make the verse carry the hearts of men on the boiling tide of its song.

Here, also, are several "Ballads," a form of poetry as natural to the English soil and language as was the pastoral to the Greek of old. The bare mention of these, at this distance from our starting point, must suffice. Two of them relate to the olden days of Indian warfare, and contain the record of the patient waiting and longing remembrance of those who are far away in the forest, either stolen or engaged in the perilous warfare, and very sweetly do they sing these ideas. One, Maud Muller, is only the rehearsal of a common wayside meeting that may occur any day, but which stamps its impress on hearts that ever after remember and sigh "those saddest of words, 'It might have been!'" But the most touching, the simplest, and the one most in the spirit and manner of the old English ballads, is "Kathleen," which relates the mournful tale of a sweet Irish maid, sold by a cruel mother-in-law to be a servant. She was bought by a "goodman" of Boston, and so winning was she in her ways that she was adopted in place of a daughter who had gone to heaven. But the page of the maid's father, the Lord of Galway, wandered east and west till he found her at last, and restored her to her father and home, and possessed both the maid and the home as a fitting reward. This ballad will by many be called the sweetest thing in all the collection, and the power to read it without tears is by no means a gift to be coveted.

But scattered along both volumes are many miscellaneous poems, any one of several of which would have made a great reputation for an ordinary man, or for one less busily engrossed in the toil and strife of the great moral warfare of the age; and these pieces are those for which he will be most widely praised and longest remembered. They have all the fire of the Voices of Freedom, without their bristling epithets and withering scorn; all the tenderness of the Chapel of Hermits, without its suspicion of heresy; all the love for nature and sympathy for her whims of the story of

Mogg Megone, without its want of connection; all the zeal for truth that glows in the Legends, without their seeming self-consciousness; and all the pathos of the Ballads, with an added vigor, an unconscious inspiration, and a fullness of life and animal spirits, such as characterizes lambs at play in a spring's morning, or tuneful birds in a summer evening. And then they sometimes rise to noble prophecies, more than epic in tone and dignity. Read the "Reformer," and say if it is not admirably conceived and most beautifully finished. It has stirred the blood of many a man, as the roll of the drum, calling to battle and eternal fame, could not stir the pulse of the soldier. It thus begins:

"All grim and soil'd, and brown with tan,  
I saw a Strong One in his wrath,  
Smiting the godless shrines of man  
Along his path.

The Church beneath her trembling dome  
Essay'd in vain her ghostly charm:  
Wealth shook within his gilded home  
With strange alarm.

"Spare," Art implored, "yon holy pile;  
That grand, old, time-worn turret spare;"  
Meek Reverence, kneeling in the aisle,  
Cried out, "Forbear."

Yet louder rang the Strong One's stroke,  
Yet nearer flash'd his ax's gleam;  
Shuddering and sick of heart I woke,  
As from a dream.

I look'd: aside the dust-cloud roll'd—  
The Waster seem'd the Builder too;  
Up-springing from the ruin'd Old  
I saw the New.

'Twas but the ruin of the bad—  
The wasting of the wrong and ill;  
Whate'er of good the old time had  
Was living still.

The outworn rite, the old abuse,  
The pious fraud, transparent grown,  
The good held captive in the use  
Of wrong alone—

These wait their doom, from that great law  
Which makes the past time serve to-day;  
And fresher life the world shall draw  
From their decay.

Take heart! the Waster builds again—  
A charnèd life old goodness hath;  
The tares may perish, but the grain  
Is not for death.

God works in all things; all obey  
 His first propulsion from the right;  
 Ho! wake and watch! the world is gray  
 With morning light."

Read "The Crisis," or "The Pass of the Sierra," or "The Song of the Kansas Emigrants," each of which was but little more than a hasty electioneering squib in the eyes of many, but have made their mark on the opinions and acts of the age. These have been sung almost everywhere; at least, they have been read by millions with thrilling hearts, and souls growing daily better from the fire there caught. They have the true ictus and ring of the lyric, and the old afflatus of the ancient Greek war-song without its savageness; and their spirit falls upon the soul almost as the cloven tongues of fire fell upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost. This is the Emigrants' Song:

"We cross the prairies as of old  
 Our fathers cross'd the sea,  
 To make the West as they the East,  
 The homestead of the free!

We go to rear a wall of men  
 On Freedom's Southern line,  
 And plant beside the cotton-tree  
 The rugged Northern pine!

We go to plant our common schools  
 On distant prairie swells,  
 And give the Sabbaths of the wild  
 The music of her bells.

Upbearing, like the ark of old,  
 The Bible in our van,

*We go to test the truth of God  
 Against the fraud of man!*"—Vol. ii, p. 241.

Very beautiful and touching, too, is this, entitled "All's Well," though it reminds us of what has been before written; a fault to which Whittier is not much addicted, for he avoids the track beaten by other poets, as to subjects generally, as to method and treatment still more commonly, and as to expression and imagery most of all.

"The clouds which rise with thunder, slake  
 Our thirsty souls with rain;  
 The blow most dreaded falls to break  
 From off our limbs a chain;  
 And wrongs of man to man but make  
 The love of God more plain.  
 As through the shading hues of even  
 The eye looks farthest into heaven,  
 On gleams of star and depths of blue  
 The glaring sunshine never knew."—Vol. ii, p. 109.



One other quotation. It is entitled "Pictures," and is one of several found in the volumes which illustrate a remark already several times repeated, that hardly another poet of this age, or of any period or nation, can sing nature and her moods so accurately, so admiringly, or so sublimely and agreeably. This is an example of a sweet, placid, simple description of what may be seen and felt by all men on any spring morning, but which very few could have first seen, and still less could have rehearsed.

"Light, warmth, and sprouting greenness, and over all  
Blue, stainless, steel-bright ether, raining down  
Tranquillity upon the deep-hush'd town,  
The freshening meadows, and the hill-side brown;  
Voice of the west wind from the hills of pine,  
And the brimm'd river from its distant fall,  
Low hum of bees, and joyous interlude  
Of bird-songs in the streamlet-skirting wood,  
Heralds and prophecies of sound and sight,  
Blessed forerunners of the warmth and light,  
Attendant angels to the house of prayer,  
With reverent footsteps, keeping pace with mine,  
Once more, through God's great love, with you I shall  
A morn of resurrection, sweet and fair,  
As that which saw, of old, in Palestine,  
Immortal Love uprising in fresh bloom  
From the dark night and winter of the tomb."—Vol. ii, p. 147.

Whittier is, in many respects, the poet of the Yankees. He has their character of straightforward, simple directness, of shrewd common sense, of quick insight and keen observation, of courageous honesty and resolute determination. These qualities, added to great faith, undismayed hopefulness, kind, tender charitableness, and glowing philanthropy, while they make him an excellent poet, do nevertheless make him something more than a mere poet, or than a sectary, more even than a mere reformer or a philanthropist. As a Yankee poet, he loves, in his very bones and nerves, the great, pure, open sky of heaven, and the plants and trees that grow beneath it; the hills and rocks of the outspread earth; and the rivers that murmur among them; the motion and life that animate them—whether it be of clouds and tree-branches, or of beast and bird—and loves all these as tenderly and as dearly as a mother loves her suffering, and, in all besides her love, disconsolate child. He loves quite as heartily the local legends and traditions of New-England, and the strange tales of her early settlers, and he is, in spirit, almost one of those old men, who did such valiant service for truth and religion, no less than for civilization and progress, with the pike or the plow, with the sword or the sermon, with ax, musket, or pen; and who defied power when and where there was danger, and there-

fore merit, in that defiance. He is a Quaker, too, inheriting all the sterling, blunt directness of the men and women who were hung for their testimonies to the life and power of truth; their quaint, courageous freedom of speech, and their ardent sympathy with strong-enduring and long-suffering patience under persecution. And he never forgets that it is a part of his duty, and his particular daily business, as a poet and a lover of mankind, to right wrongs wherever found; or, at least, to attempt that work with his might and energy, and to call upon all within the hearing of his voice, to come to the assistance of those thus endangered by the oppressions of the heartless and the cruel. He is not a Feeble Mind, who, as Bunyan tells, in passing the caves of Giants Pope and Pagan, was content to tremble by, on the further side of the wide road, with bowed head, abject body, averted eyes, and palsied tongue, thankful, both to the giants and his Maker, for the blessed privilege of peace in the enjoyment of the rights of the way. He is a Greatheart; and if he sees any of these giants who are wont to affright timid women, or disturb conscientious pilgrims, be they strong or weak, old, decrepit, and defenseless, or rugged and armed to the teeth, blocking up the way, or sitting by the roadside to utter harmless taunts and blasphemies, he sounds the bugle notes of his resolute defiance at once; and the road must be cleared. When such monsters appear, he knows no law of reciprocity, and he will enjoy no divided immunities. He will have the whole of the broad road or a battle. And if old Giant Despair has set up a castle in the adjacent fields, though not always in sight of the pathway, it is made his business to pull it down about his ears. He is not content to find a clear way for the strong man by accident, and to walk noiselessly in it. He must make that road safe by right, and beyond the misfortune of a chance, not only for the stout-hearted, ready-willed, double-fisted, but safe also for the feeble-souled man, the delicate woman, the tender child, the ignorant, the weak, and the oppressed, the peeled, the bleeding, and the fainting; and so safe, too, and so certainly belonging to them in their own right, that they may walk its whole length, singing or shouting forth their great songs of praise and adoration, without the fear of even momentary and distant interruption.

While Whittier sings his songs in this spirit, and for this noble end, he does it with a sweet simplicity of words, and a clear, perspicuous, direct arrangement of sentences, which makes the sense easy to be understood and very forcible. His English is singularly pure, hardly one word in twenty that is not of old Anglo-Saxon origin, and all Latinity and French barbarisms are conscientiously excluded. The words are short, simple, unequivocal, plain in sense,

and sharp in tone, and they ring like the twang of bowstrings in battle. No other words but English could be so used, and they only by a master who knows how potent are those old household names, when used in right good earnest, either for overawing the bad or cheering the good. He chooses these words well, and he marshals them in such order that their array is invincible, and they go sweeping down on what he would annihilate, like the squadrons of Murat's cavalry in the battles of Napoleon. And yet they bear along with them such a deep sympathy with man and his sufferings, and such a holy charity for the erring and the evil even, hoping all things and still enduring all things, as shall make his verses strangely potential. These virtues or graces are always essential elements of true poetry, and where they also make up a large share of the poet's nature, he will sing beautifully and pleasingly. The essence of poetry is love, and hate is as foreign to its nature as it would be to that of an angel. And this divine fullness of love overflows in all these poems. There may be gibes, and taunts, and fierce denunciations, in many places; but these are not uttered for their own sake, but only in tender love and pity, both for the persons or things to which they are applied, and those who are made to suffer by the wrongs denounced. It is this ardent and hopeful affection in the breast of the poet that causes him to sing so sweetly, for it is with him and his pen, as another of our poets has said:

"Ah, how skillful grows the hand  
That obeyeth Love's command!  
It is the heart and not the brain  
That to the highest doth attain,  
And he who followeth Love's behest,  
Far exceedeth all the rest!"

And in the midst of Whittier's almost insane anger, there are notes of pity and songs of sweet sympathy; tender appeals and solemn words of fervent, forgiving prayer, that would subdue and soothe even demoniac rage and unthinking cruelty. How sweetly does he express this power of tender, patient love, and steady trust, even when most deeply wronged and slighted, in this fine passage from "The New Wife and the Old:"

"And the tenderest ones and weakest,  
Who their wrongs have borne the meekest,  
Lifting from those dark, still places,  
Sweet and sad remember'd faces,  
O'er the guilty hearts behind  
An unwitting triumph find."—Vol. i, p. 113.

The same trustful spirit finds voice in the "Chapel of the Her-

mits," and thus also speaks in the opening lines of "Questions of Life:?"

"A bending staff I would not break,  
A feeble faith I would not shake,  
Nor even rashly pluck away  
The error which some truth might stay,  
Whose loss might leave the soul without  
A shield against the shafts of doubt."—Vol. ii, p. 131.

What a rebuke to that little, unloving wisdom that would at once, and irremediably, reform the world of all its hoary practices! While, therefore, in conclusion, it may be said that many of these poems are too long, or too fierce, or of only temporary importance, it must also be said, with equal truth, and with more distinguishing emphasis, that no one has written in more stirring strains, or with a more loving heart; that no one is more in request in times demanding earnest, truthful action; and certainly no American poet has been more powerful to lead men away from the love of evil to the admiration of truth and right than he. The mission of poetry has always been one of vast importance. It is the earliest form of literature in which a nation or an individual takes delight; and it is certainly the last to lose its hold on the human heart. Whenever men are to be moved, it is called for; and not music herself, with all her fabled charms, even when Orpheus leads the chorus, has such a sublime power to elevate the courage, to exalt the hopes, to fill the soul, and strengthen the whole man, as the thrilling melody and measured march of well-chosen, orderly-marshaled words, moving in a phalanx to the rhythm of charity-breathing, truth-inspired song. To masses of men such songs are like a cloud, charged with the accumulated moisture and electricity of the whole broad ocean, driven with the breath of the fragrant southwest wind upon a thirsty continent, pouring out a flood of healing waters and reviving influences that make even deserts blossom as the rose. Such, in some measure, has been the influence and effect of these poems by Whittier. May they still continue to be admired, and may they more and more contribute to rightly instruct and greatly strengthen the heart of humanity!

## ART. V.—THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE SEA.

*The Physical Geography of the Sea*, by M. F. MAURY, LL.D., U. S. N.; Superintendent of the National Observatory. An entirely new edition, with addenda. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.

TWENTY years ago the individual who would have written a work on geographical science, with an expectation that the public would appreciate and reward his labors, would either have been set down as a man of remarkable courage and prominent hope, or, what is more likely, been considered a dreamer, more worthy the strait jacket than our credence.

The present may be considered pre-eminently the age of practical science. At the announcement of each scientific discovery and isolated fact the world is ever ready to ask, "*Cui bono?*" Franklin replied to some of his questioners by asking, "What is the use of a new-born babe?" So with an isolated fact. Standing alone, when first discovered, having had no time to grow, and without the benefit of association with other kindred facts, it is like the helpless infant. If a savage, on the island of Madagascar, should find the piston-rod from the engine of a wrecked steamship, or the driving-wheel of a locomotive that had been thrown overboard from a vessel bound to Australia, he would gaze in wonder at their singular form, and remain in total ignorance of their utility. But let him see an engine tunneling a hole through a mountain, or a locomotive drawing a train of cars the whole length of his island, as rapidly as he would send an arrow at a bird, and he would at once see the value of mechanical genius and appreciate the fruits of exact science.

We are eminently a commercial and utilitarian people. When the calculations at the National Observatory had reached that point that by the "sailing directions" furnished to navigators the voyages round Cape Horn could be shortened fifty or sixty days, or more than one third of their duration, merchants and nautical men were startled at the results, and at once appreciated the value of this field of scientific research and well-directed industry. Statisticians have calculated the saving to the maritime interests of Great Britain and the United States at more than six million dollars per annum. Here is a practical result which all can appreciate, and in the advantages of which all will share. Scientific men will be as much interested and instructed by the labors of Dr. Maury, in a scientific point of view, as merchants and mariners are at the pecuniary benefits. Humboldt, Berghans, Ehrenberg, Admiral Smyth, and Professor Forbes,

have all contributed to our knowledge of the "Physical Geography of the Sea," but it is not going too far to say that in practical results the labors of Lieutenant Maury surpass them all. As long ago as twelve or fifteen years the attention of merchants and men of science was now and then drawn to a magazine article, or an occasional address from the pen of our quiet naval lieutenant, the present distinguished superintendent of the National Observatory at Washington. The fruits of extensive combined efforts, and the advantages of scientific vision, assisted by ten thousand pairs of eyes, all recorded in the log-books of as many practical navigators, and collated and arranged by Mr. Maury and his able staff of assistants, have given to the world practical fruits that are appreciated and known in every port where commerce finds a cargo, and on every sea that is whitened by a sail.

When the deep-sea soundings were first attempted few could appreciate their utility. Many doubted the success of the attempts; "and if successful," said they, "of what use can they be?" Dr. Maury says:

"Every physical fact, every expression of nature, every feature of the earth, the work of any and all of those agents which make the face of the world what it is, and as we see it, is interesting and instructive. Until we get hold of a group of physical facts, we do not know what practical bearings they may have, though right-minded men know that they contain many precious jewels, which science, or the expert hand of philosophy, will not fail to bring out, polished and bright, and beautifully adapted to man's purposes."

That very experiment of deep-sea soundings has at once shown, what has long been a desideratum, the practicability of a sub-marine telegraph across the Atlantic. The depth of the sea ascertained, we find a remarkable steppe across the ocean, between Cape Race in Newfoundland and Cape Clear in Ireland; and this is known as the "telegraphic plateau." The width at this place is not over sixteen hundred miles, and the greatest depth not over ten thousand feet. Before another year has elapsed we hope, in spite of past disaster, to have intelligence flashed along the wires as they rest securely on this "plateau," beneath the billows of the mighty Atlantic.

As the bottom of the sea shelves off toward the south, the plan is to lay the telegraphic wires just below the highest or shallowest part; and this will forever guard against the lodgment and grinding force of large icebergs that may become stranded on the banks as they move toward the equator. To a common observer a bit of mud from the bottom of the sea would be of no interest, and possess no practical value; it would be a bit of mud, and nothing more. In the hands of Professor Bailey, of West Point, some mud from the



soundings on the telegraphic plateau was found, under a powerful microscope, to consist entirely of minute shells, not a particle of sand or gravel among them. But the most significant fact discovered, was that these delicate microscopic shells had not suffered the slightest damage or abrasion, clearly proving that the sea at this point is almost completely at rest, and, consequently, the safest of all possible places for a telegraphic wire.

"There was not motion enough there to abrade these very delicate organisms, nor current enough to sweep them about and mix up with them a grain of the finest sand, nor the smallest particle of gravel torn from the loose beds of debris that here and there strew the bottom of the sea."

Since the daring Genoese, with three frail barks, and without guide, chart, compass, or knowledge of currents, revealed to the eyes of Europeans the knowledge of the Western continent, the art of navigation has advanced with gigantic strides. Until a very late period, however, improvements have been confined principally to the model, material, and construction of vessels, and to the improvement of instruments. Mapping out the winds of heaven, discovering the currents of the sea, and investigating all the physical causes that have a bearing on navigation and on the climates of the earth; all this has been reserved for the present age. Old ocean, with its winds and storms, its hidden dangers and unknown depths, has continued to remain the same type of terror, mystery, and uncertainty.

"Such as creation's dawn beheld, thou rollest now."

But we can see "order rise out of chaos," and what appeared to be accident and uncertainty is design and regularity. By a vessel taking certain directions at certain seasons there are found to be certain average results, and the "straightest course" is not always the shortest between two points. Maury's "Physical Geography of the Sea" gives the practical results of years of study and thousands of observations; shows us the currents, the depths, and the animal life of the ocean, the cause and uses of the saltiness of the sea, the prevailing direction of the winds at different seasons, and the practical bearing that all these various facts have on navigation, the climates of the earth, and the comfort and well-being of man. And we are taught something more. We are taught to "look through Nature up to Nature's God;" to see the design, the wisdom, and the beneficence of the Creator in giving shape and direction to the laws that govern the physical globe in the way he has done. With what a grand simplicity the first chapter of the book commences:

"There is a river in the ocean. In the severest droughts it never fails, and in the mightiest floods it never overflows. Its banks and its bottom are of cold water, while its current is of warm. The Gulf of Mexico is its fountain, and its mouth is in the Arctic Seas. It is the Gulf Stream. There is in the world no other such majestic flow of waters. Its current is more rapid than the Mississippi or the Amazon, and its volume more than a thousand times greater. Its waters, as far out from the Gulf as the Carolina coasts, are of an indigo blue. They are so distinctly marked that their line of junction with the common sea-water may be traced by the eye."

For *all* the causes, Dr. Maury says, that produce the Gulf Stream, we cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, account, but we can, at least, tell some of the agents concerned. There is a great equatorial current—a surface current—from the shores of Africa across the Atlantic into the Caribbean Sea, and this is over that portion of the ocean where the trade-winds blow. Here, evaporation is in excess of precipitation; and this evaporation is calculated at fifteen feet in depth, in a year. None but fresh water being taken up by evaporation, what remains is in proportion more salt, and this makes the waters of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico saltier than the average of the ocean. The amount of water discharged by the Mississippi River into the Gulf of Mexico is less than one-thousandth part of the quantity carried off by the Gulf Stream, and, consequently, can be neither a cause, nor have a perceptible bearing on the Gulf Stream current. Now, the waters of the Baltic Sea and the German Ocean are nearly fresh—only brackish—and, consequently, lighter than the average of the ocean. It is plain that, whatever the cause—expansion by heat, or contraction from cold—water made heavier in one place, or lighter in another, tends to disturb the equilibrium; and Nature at once sets to work to have that equilibrium restored. Where there is a current on the surface, or otherwise, in the ocean in one direction, there must lie another current in another direction to counteract it. In Plate VI. of the "*Physical Geography*," there is a representation of the currents in the Atlantic; the entire movement of the waters in the ocean, and they perform a complete circuit, are compensated and balanced by a motion on every side. The great equatorial current flows west from the African coast, goes into the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, and out to the northeast by the Florida capes, through the "narrows" of Bemini, taking the name of the Gulf Stream. It expands in its northward course as it passes the Banks of Newfoundland, and continues across the ocean till it mingles with the waters around the British Isles. Here commences a southward motion, and on flow a portion of the waters through the Bay of Biscay, and by the coast of Spain and the Canary Islands,

till the flow reaches and passes into the great equatorial current on the west coast of Africa. If this description of the flow of waters in the Atlantic is correct, is it not reasonable to suppose that an eddy or comparatively still place will be created in a central part of the ocean? If we take a basin of water, scatter on the surface chaff, bits of cork, or other light substances, and then create a circular current by a stream of air or a whirling motion, we shall see the floating substances gather in comparative stillness on a central part of the surface. This is exactly the case with the Atlantic. A vast surface, south of the Azores, south and east of Bermuda, north of the tropic of Cancer, northwest of the Cape Verde Isles, and west of the Canaries, is known as the "Sargasso Sea," and is at all times covered with floating sea-weed. This gulf weed (*Fucus natans*) is so thickly matted over the surface of the water, "that the speed of vessels passing through it is often much retarded." "When the companions of Columbus saw it, they thought it marked the limits of navigation, and became alarmed. Columbus first found this weedy sea in his voyage of discovery; there it has remained to this day, and certain observations as to its limits, extending back for fifty years, assure us that its position has not been altered since that time."

We cannot follow our philosophical writer in his most interesting and thoroughly convincing account of the currents of the ocean, without greatly exceeding our limits. He shows that the current of the Gulf Stream is about four miles an hour at the Florida Capes, three off Cape Hatteras, and that it becomes slower and slower as it moves north, and increases in width. He claims that, instead of the New England coast, the Nantucket Shoals, and the Banks of Newfoundland turning the course of the stream, it runs where we find it, entirely from other causes. "The Gulf Stream is bound over to the North Sea and the Bay of Biscay, partly for the reason, perhaps, that the waters there are lighter than those of the Mexican Gulf; and if the Shoals of Nantucket were not in existence it could not pursue a more direct route." The stream has its entire breadth, its northern and southern edge, some distance further north in September than in March; vibrating to and fro, with the different seasons, like the pendulum of a clock. The benign influence of the Gulf Stream is seen in the heat that it conveys across the Atlantic to the British Isles and the west of Europe; and were it not for this heat "the soft climates of both England and France would be as that of Labrador, severe and ice-bound." To the same cause is owing the mild climate of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, Faroe, and Iceland, one branch of the

Gulf Stream going into the Arctic Ocean, and as far east as the Polar basin of Spitzbergen. The caloric taken away by the Gulf Stream leaves the climate of the West India Islands and our southern coast cooler, and more salubrious; the surplus heat being carried to a higher latitude. The surface water is from three to four degrees, and some distance below the surface forty degrees hotter when it leaves the Gulf of Mexico, than when it comes into the Caribbean Sea from the east.

"Taking only the difference in surface temperature as an index of the heat accumulated there, a simple calculation will show that the quantity of specific heat daily carried off by the Gulf Stream is sufficient to raise mountains of iron from zero to the melting point, and to keep in flow from them a molten stream of metal greater in volume than the waters daily discharged from the Mississippi River. Who, therefore, can calculate the benign influence of this wonderful current upon the climate of the South?"

Here we see that beautiful compensation that is exhibited in all the laws of Nature. The Caribbean Sea is like an enormous steam boiler; the fuel, or source of heat, the tropical sun; the Gulf of Mexico is a distributing reservoir; the Gulf Stream the escape pipe; and this piece of machinery takes the surplus heat of the islands and shores of the Mexican Gulf and our southern coast, and distributes it with a lavish hand on the shores of Great Britain, Orkney, Shetland, Faroe, and far-off Iceland. Regions otherwise uninhabitable from the extreme heat, are made salubrious; and lands in far-off northern climes become temperate, smiling, and fruitful. It has been said—and truly, if such a contingency could happen—that if the land forming the Isthmus of Darien should be broken down by any convulsion of nature, the equatorial current from Africa would flow through into the Pacific, the Gulf Stream would cease, and Great Britain and the Northern Isles change their climates for those of Labrador and Greenland, and soon cease to be habitable regions. But this contingency will never happen. The Almighty never leaves his work in a precarious condition. The Caribbean Sea is a steam boiler that was not made by mortal man. The barriers were built by Him who "holds the sea in the hollow of his hand."

As practical and satisfactory as is the account of the physical geography of the sea, the explanation of the currents, and the general economy of the ocean, perhaps the most interesting chapters of the work are those that treat of the atmosphere. In these we learn why there is "a rainy season in Oregon, a rainy and dry season in California, another at Panama, two at Bogota, none in Peru, and one in Chili." There is nothing more clear than the demonstration of the cause of the *Rainless Regions*. A portion of western Peru, lying

on the Pacific slope of the Andes, never has any rain. Here the wind blows all the time in one direction, the "Southeast trades." Commencing on the coast of Africa, as the trade-winds move to the northwest across the Atlantic, they become heavily charged with vapor. Arriving on the shore of Brazil, the winds rise up gradually with the ascent of the land. A more elevated region is necessarily colder, and this increasing coldness, or lower temperature, operates on the moist atmosphere like the pressure of the hand upon a wet sponge. The vapor becomes condensed into drops and falls in rain. Passing over the vast plains and valleys of the land drained by those immense streams, the Amazon and the Rio de la Plata, a great quantity of rain falls, and we see the results in innumerable rivers, and several of enormous magnitude, one the largest in the world. Finally, the winds "reach the snow-capped Andes, and here is wrung from them the last particle of moisture that that very low temperature can extract." On reaching the summit of those lofty mountains they "tumble down as cool and dry winds on the Pacific slopes beyond." They meet with no evaporating surface, and no temperature colder than they were subjected to on the mountain tops until they reach the ocean, and, consequently, they have no moisture that can be extracted on the Pacific slope of the Andes. Were the winds here to blow a part of the year from other directions, the land would receive some rain. In the same way the wet and dry seasons of India and Southern Asia are accounted for, the monsoons and the trades blowing at different seasons in different directions. The average depth of water that falls in rain in a year on the entire earth is stated to be about thirty-seven inches; but in some places there is more than eighteen feet. On some parts of the Pacific such a vast quantity of rain falls that sailors can frequently dip it up quite fresh from the surface of the ocean. One of the most rainy regions is on the west coast of Patagonia, the Pacific slope of the Andes, and the ocean adjacent. As the northwest trade-winds approach the coast, the precipitous, lofty, and snow-covered Andes subject the vapor-bearing gales to such a sudden change, going from a comparatively high to a very low temperature, that the water is condensed and poured down in rain in vast quantities. "Captain King found the astonishing fall of water here of nearly thirteen feet in forty-one days; and Mr. Darwin reports that the sea-water along this part of the South American coast is sometimes quite fresh from the vast quantity of rain that falls." Mr. Maury very appropriately calls the atmosphere an immense "engine." He says "the South Seas themselves, in all their vast inter-tropical extent, are the boiler for it, and the northern hemisphere is its condenser." Our philosopher

says that "upon the proper working" of this engine or machine "depends the well-being of every plant and animal that inhabits the earth; and that, therefore, the management of it, or its movement, or the performance of its offices, cannot be left to chance. They are, we may rely upon it, guided by laws that make all parts, functions, and movements of the machinery as obedient to order as are the planets in their orbits." We shall refer to the book itself for the causes, the springs of action, and the prevailing course of the "wind in his circuits" "round about the world." We do not wish, nor could we if we chose to, extract all the ideas or choice bits of this volume in a brief review of it. To the comprehension of a child is it shown "why the sea is salt," why Lake Superior is fresh, why the Dead Sea, the Great Salt Lake, the Aral and the Caspian Seas are impregnated with saline particles like the ocean itself. An epitome of the book, to give a clear idea of its contents, would almost necessarily be as voluminous as the work itself, for the treatise, in its style and substance, is a model of condensation. Never obscure, never running off into reflections, rhapsodies, and speculations not pertinent to the subject, there is no ground lost, but one condensed chain of facts, arguments, and deductions. The entire work is eminently hopeful and religious, showing the Christian philosopher in every page. That we have in our naval lieutenant a diligent seeker after truth, a man of great comprehension of mind, an original thinker, and one who has as much genius in exploring the depths of philosophical research as Franklin, Herschell, or Humboldt, is already appreciated by the few, and, ere another generation has passed, will be acknowledged by the country and the world.

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ART. VI.—EDMUND BURKE.

THE great men of the world are not to be considered the exclusive property of the nations in which they are born, nor of the age which witnessed and received the earliest profit of their actions. Much more is this true of those men who, springing from the middle and lower classes, are not ashamed of their relationship to the masses, but labor with unswerving devotion for the rights of our common humanity. Such men are frequently misunderstood in their own day, and partially forgotten in the age following; but as the years



roll on Truth gives them resurrection; then they live on forever, and receive the homage of the nations.

The fearless soldiers who form the front ranks, and receive the fresh, vigorous charge of the enemy, sacrificing their lives in the onset of the battle, are honored with scarcely a decent burial, while those who shout the victory are crowned with laurel. All great reformatations, all triumphs of noble principles, have their precursors: men of noble minds and superior parts, whose actions often suffer an eclipse in the brightness of the period which they have ushered in. So it was with the Reformation of which Luther is the representative in the world's eye. No one would detract from his position in that triumph of religious truth, nor from his world-wide renown; but his dearest admirers are now writing the biographies of the *Reformers before the Reformation*.

The heart of the age in which we live is throbbing with a true endeavor to restore to humanity its rights; and, notwithstanding its many eccentricities, some of which seem to verge on madness, it is doing right nobly. We do well to honor our present leaders. But there are some names almost forgotten in this relation who deserve a passing recognition, if not a perpetual remembrance. One of these names we have placed at the head of this article. There may be persons who will be surprised to see the name of Edmund Burke on a roll of the prophets; they have heard and thought of him as a great statesman, an illustrious orator, a writer of singular and varied powers. He was all these, and much more; he was an eminent *philanthropist*. The true question to ask of any man, the question by which the future will judge him, is not the extent of his endowments, but the use, the consecration he has made of them. Do they center on himself, or go beyond self and identify him with the cause of humanity?

We purpose considering the labors of Mr. Burke in this light, selecting him not as a man of capacious mind, capable of communicating the results of his wisdom in the most captivating and convincing manner, but as a man of a large, warm heart. Deeply sensitive to every attempt to infringe on the rights of man, he was equally bold in their defense; always eloquent, his tongue seemed touched with live coals when pleading the cause of humanity. All nations, and parties, and sects were the same to him when their rights as men were disregarded or endangered. He could no more be silent over the wrongs of India than his own beloved Ireland. Reared a Protestant, and ardently attached to the State Church, none ever pleaded more eloquently for Christian justice toward the Dissenters and Catholics. It is not to be presumed that a pub-

lic man could adopt and maintain such a course without making great personal sacrifices, and accepting, for a time at least, the certain opprobrium of such a position. Mr. Burke made the sacrifice without ostentation, and accepted the reproach without retaliation. When he pleaded the cause of the American colonies and Ireland against unjust commercial restrictions and taxations, his constituents complained that he opposed their interest; his friendship for these countries was construed into hatred of England; he asked toleration for the Catholics, and was caricatured as a Jesuit.

Passing over Mr. Burke's early years, we come at once to his entrance into Parliament in 1765. He was now at the ripe age of thirty years, and brought superior qualification to his position of private secretary to Lord Rockingham, who was at the head of the new ministry. There is no doubt that he had been seeking and preparing himself for a political life during a number of years. Indeed, he had held some positions, but none of any importance.

Let us glance at the times when he entered into public life. England was not only then, as now, the freest and most intelligent nation in Europe, but in the world; and, with all its reverses, this was an illustrious period of her history. Pope, Young, Swift, Middleton, Bolingbroke, and Bishops Butler and Berkeley were remembered by the older men; Johnson, Goldsmith, Hume, Blackstone, Mansfield, and Pitt were in the zenith of their well-merited fame; Sheridan, Fox, Gibbon, Warburton, Robertson, Cowper, Clarkson, and Wilberforce were men of his own age. It was not an age in which a charlatan could have succeeded. Burke proved himself more than equal to his compeers. In knowledge, eloquence, philosophy, he surpassed any one of them; his industry was equal to his ambition; and in all those nobler qualities of the heart which are a richer heritage than genius, and give nobility to the commonest actions of life, he had no superior.

In noticing his labors it will be convenient to take them up in the order of time in which he advocated the several measures upon which his reputation in the character which we claim for him must rest.

When Mr. Burke came into Parliament, the subject which had the precedence of all others was America. The infamous Stamp Act had been passed in the early part of the same year, by the Grenville administration, and the discontent of the colonies had become a subject of just alarm to thinking men. The first movement of the new administration was a motion to repeal the odious measure. In the advocacy of this motion Burke made his first speech in Parliament; and with such success that it called forth a flattering

compliment from Pitt, then the acknowledged champion of the colonies.

The position of Mr. Burke in this stage of his public life, in relation to American affairs, has been censured by our historian, Bancroft, because, while he advocated the repeal of the Stamp Act, the party with which he acted still insisted upon the *right* of the mother country to tax the colonies; that he urged the repeal of the act rather as a matter of policy than of right. We should remember that the party in England who disclaimed the right, were a mere handful, and impotent, except in speeches. The repeal could not have been carried on any other terms; and it does not require a great deal of charity to suppose that Burke, in this, as in many other instances, chose his position for its immediate advantages. His later speeches on American affairs should rather be taken as the exposition of his feeling toward the colonies. The exposition of his ideas of government, which we find scattered throughout his writings, show that he was not insensible to the great principles at the foundation of the difficulty, and that his sympathies were with the colonies. He opposed, in speeches that were considered among his best efforts, the employment of Indians in the American war, and the bringing of Americans guilty of treason to England for trial. Had the course been pursued which he marked out in his speeches on *American Taxation* and *American Conciliation*, the rupture would have been delayed, although it is not probable that it would have changed the final result.

He did indeed desire that the colonies should forever continue a portion of the British empire, but this was the sentiment of all parties, and held by our own fathers. No Englishman was better acquainted with the American possessions than Mr. Burke; he had written a history of America before his entrance on political life; and he saw, as with the eye of prophecy, her great commercial future; he knew that no possessions in the East could compensate for the loss of those in the West.

The day came at last when America would be satisfied with nothing less than independence, and the mother country was compelled to admit the claim. It was a sad day for him; for he loved his country, and she was now to lose her noblest child. "He felt it," he said, "as a circumstance exceedingly detrimental to the fame, and exceedingly detrimental to the interest of his country." Once, when pleading for America, he had said, "As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country [England] as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of

England worship freedom they will turn their faces toward you." England had lacked this wisdom; and our fathers had built a new shrine to her name in the mighty forests of the New World: they have the glory that he coveted for his own nation; they who worship freedom turn their faces toward America.

The labors of Mr. Burke in favor of religious toleration commenced at an early period, and continued during his parliamentary career. The government of Great Britain places all who do not adopt the faith and forms of the State Church under greater or less disabilities. Let him be Catholic, Dissenter, Presbyterian, Methodist, or Baptist, Jew, or Mussulman, it matters not, he is deprived of some privileges, and taxed, indirectly, to support the State Church besides. He is a man of some nerve who can combat with the religious prejudices of the majority. The politician who commits himself to a studied and consistent effort in such a course, must be willing to accept a reward in the future. This is probably the reason why we have so few public men who oppose popular errors and popular prejudices: it is a choice between the ready cash and a note of hand; between a wreath on one's brow while living, and one on his monument when dead.

English intoleration was far less bigoted and cruel when Burke opposed it than it had been in the age before. The time had passed when such men as Baxter and Bunyan could be fined and imprisoned for preaching the word of life; yet there were many obstacles in the path of the dissenting minister and his people. Mr. Burke made a number of speeches in favor of bills in relief of the Dissenters; indeed, we do not know of any occasion when the matter was before Parliament, that he did not take the floor in their behalf. There was, however, an instance when he gave his enemies occasion to charge him with inconsistency. Fortunately, he committed the leading arguments of his speech to writing, and we are satisfied with the explanation which it affords. It was on a petition of the Unitarians for certain privileges. The French Revolution was then raging, and he saw in it and its advocates enemies to the human race: the petitioners were almost to a man ardent supporters of the revolution, and seeing, as he thought, in the petition only a desire to legally publish doctrines which might inflame England with a like madness, he opposed it. But his own words acquit him of intolerance. He says:

"If ever there was anything to which, from nature, reason, habit, and principle, I am totally averse, it is persecution for conscientious difference in opinion. . . . What, then, are we come to this pass, to suppose that nothing can support Christianity but the principles of persecution? . . . I am persuaded

that toleration, so far from being an attack upon Christianity, becomes the best and surest support that possibly can be given it. . . . I may be mistaken, but I take toleration to be a part of Christianity."

But the Catholics suffered most by the laws relating to religious opinion. There was, however, cause for it. The Catholic, in his day of power, had lighted the flames at Smithfield: the flames had gone out, but the story lived around ten thousand hearths. The Catholic had proved his will by the Gunpowder Plot. Therefore, said they, if we give them any political power, we peril our liberties. Such was the prejudice and reasoning by which the conscience essayed to justify itself. There were but few Catholics in England; it was Ireland that groaned under the burden, for two thirds of its population professed the faith of the Church of Rome. If the aim of these laws had been to convert the Catholic to Protestantism, the measures had been exceedingly unsuccessful; the Catholic population steadily increased. It is not necessary to give an enumeration of the disabilities wrought by these laws, nor is it necessary to a correct idea of Burke's labors and position. The continual ferment in which they kept the nation was a rich soil for rebellion, and in the Irish character brought forth an affluent harvest.

Now, add to Burke's intense hatred to intolerance his ardent love for his native land, and you have the motives which prompted him to write and speak more on this subject than any other.

In 1778 some of the severity of these laws was taken off by the passage of a bill, advocated by Burke in a noble speech. Petitions were sent in to repeal these indulgences, some mad zealots leading a mob to the doors of Parliament, and blood was shed. It only aroused his whole nature. He said, speaking of it afterward: "With warmth and vigor, and animated with a just and natural indignation, I called forth every faculty I possessed, and directed it in every way in which I could possibly employ it. I labored night and day; I labored in Parliament; I labored out of Parliament." His party refused to act with him; but this did not deter him. And, with characteristic magnanimity, when the leaders of the mob were to be punished, he pleaded, and secured a lenity for them which they did not deserve.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into a detailed account of his able advocacy of the freedom of the press, of improvements in the libel laws, of economical reform, for the alleviation of the condition of the negro population in the colonies, and the abolition of the slave-trade. In each of these measures he made a firm stand for the rights of man. Nor is it necessary for us to notice at length his devotion to his native land. It is the fashion to commend pub-

lic men for patriotism; for it is a sad fact, that even when men are paid for performing acts which should spring unsolicited from the soul, so few come up to the standard of common honesty that the faithful servant is paraded as a prodigy. Mr. Burke was not the man to shrink, and it lost him his place as member for Bristol. But the loss gave birth to his famous Bristol speech, than which a more eloquent statement of noble and manly political principles never fell from the lips of man. Some parts of this speech are worthy of frequent perusal by all public men. We cannot withhold some of the closing paragraphs.

“But I am told, if I profess all this impolitic stubbornness, I may chance never to be elected to Parliament.’ It is, certainly, not pleasing to be put out of the political service. But I wish to be a member of Parliament to have my share of doing good and resisting evil. It would, therefore, be absurd to renounce my objects, in order to retain my seat. I deceive myself indeed, and most grossly, if I had not much rather pass the remainder of my life hidden in the recesses of the deepest obscurity, feeding my mind even with the visions and imagination of such things, than to be placed on the most splendid throne of the universe, tantalized with a denial of the practice of all which can make the greatest situation any other than the greatest curse. Gentlemen, I have had my day. I can never sufficiently express my gratitude to you for having set me in a place, wherein I could lend the slightest help to great and laudable designs. If I have had my share in any measure giving quiet to private property and private conscience; if, by my vote, I have aided in securing to families the best possession, peace; if I have joined in reconciling kings to their subjects, and subjects to their prince; if I have assisted to loosen the foreign holdings of the citizen, and taught him to look for his protection to the laws of his country, and for his comfort to the good-will of his countrymen; if I have thus taken my part with the best of men in the best of their actions, I can shut the book; I might wish to read a page or two more, but this is enough, I have not lived in vain.

“And now, gentlemen, on this serious day, when I come, as it were, to make up my account with you, let me take to myself some degree of honest pride on the nature of the charges against me. I do not here stand before you accused of venality, or of neglect of duty. It is not said that, in the long period of my service, I have in a single instance sacrificed the slightest of your interests to my ambition or to my fortune. It is not alleged that, to gratify any anger or revenge of my own, or of my party, I have had a share in wronging any description of men or any one man in any description. No! the charges against me are all of one kind—that I have pushed the principles of general justice and benevolence too far; further than a cautious policy would warrant; and further than the opinions of many would go along with me. In every accident which may happen in life, in pain, in sorrow, in depression, and distress, I will call to mind this accusation, and be comforted.”

Mr. Burke's labors in relation to India, especially the impeachment of Warren Hastings, reveal, more than the labors of any man before him or after him, the brawny limbs of the unwearied giant. The British possession in India had grown from the mere depot of a trading company to one of the most valuable possessions on the



face of the earth. It is scarcely necessary to relate how it was acquired. It is the old story of the strong overpowering the weak, the witty overreaching the dull. India was looked upon as a place *par excellence* to get money; for if it could not be obtained by honest means, it was not difficult to do so by dishonest means; the field was an open one, with equal facilities for skillful cheating, or downright robbery. No Englishman would choose the climate or associations for pleasure; it was only tolerable as a country where money might be accumulated with more rapidity than any other. It was a favorite resort for broken merchants, younger sons of impoverished families, unfortunate lovers, for men who had doubtful claims on the good-will of the government. Its great distance from England, and the manner in which it was ruled by the Company, made it a safe place for every system of oppression. Ordinarily, one might commit injustice in India, and sleep as soundly as those pirates who scuttled a ship after they had robbed, on the protective maxim that "dead men tell no tales."

Oppression and injustice had been reduced to a system; each fresh cargo of hungry wealth-seekers gave efficiency to the plans and experience of their predecessors, until the culminating point had been reached under the governorship of Warren Hastings. Those who cared to think on the matter were not ignorant that there was something wrong in the management of India, but they never surmised the enormity of the injustice. The large dividend on the stock had a wonderful effect in blinding the stockholders. There were some, however, who knew much of the matter; but it required more zeal for right, more intellect, more physical endurance, more of the spirit of sacrifice than they possessed, and they quieted their consciences on the plea of inability. Indeed, it was no child's play to attack a powerful corporation, in which the wealthiest and noblest families had the rule. More than one minister had addressed himself to the task under a dim sense of duty, but the magnitude of the labor overpowered him, and he laid it down in despair.

There was, however, one man in England who, following his suspicions, had fathomed the injustice, and his indignation against the perpetrators, his love for the unsullied glory of his country, and his reverential love for humanity, conspired to move the depths of his nature, and urge him to expose the villainy. Some of Mr. Burke's enemies attempted to show that he had personal motive in the prosecution. The fact was, they could not comprehend, in their contracted notions of duty, why a man could undertake so great a work out of pure justice and benevolence: there was a munificence

in the charity that staggered their utmost conception of self-denial. Whoever will read Mr. Burke's speeches will no longer be at a loss for the reasons that moved him to the impeachment of Warren Hastings. In his powerful imagination the wrongs of India passed in their fearful reality; and as he recited them brave men grew pale and clasped their swords, noble women swooned, and Hastings himself dared not look up. When Burke closed the accusation in the memorable words, "Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and opposer of them all," he but spoke in the truth and sincerity of his throbbing heart.

The marked characteristic of Burke's later days was his intense hatred and fierce opposition to the French Revolution. His speeches and writings on this phenomenon of modern history, are brilliant and powerful as a body; but they do not show his mind nor his humanity in its best phase. His great gifts and noble principles were not without the alloy of our common nature. He was growing old, and had to some extent outlived his associations: he was not held in the same respect by the young men who were taking the lead in politics, as he had been by their fathers; the party of which he had been the brightest ornament and most gifted mind, had been stranded, and those who saved themselves from the wreck no longer held together; those who had been his sworn enemies were the most prominent leaders among the sympathizers with the revolution. These infirmities and dislikes had, in all probability, some effect on his judgment; but it would be difficult for any one, in the present day, to show that his judgment was far astray. We do indeed consider that France has profited by her revolutions, but the price for the advantages was an enormous one; and probably the most enthusiastic lover of liberty, could he have seen the end from the beginning, would not have signed the contract. The revolution was an anomaly in history; no volume of precedents threw any light on its procedure. It was not strange that men should strive for liberty, and in the joy of their triumph commit excesses which a calmer judgment would disavow; but in this the madness grew wilder when men looked for returning sanity, and the tiger-thirst for blood grew stronger with each enlarged hecatomb of victims.

The view Burke took of it was a hopeless one, but one which was not without some foundation in fact. When he saw religion decried as a vapid superstition, and atheism promulgated by a public decree, his blood ran cold at the fearful reach of impiety; when he saw an impudent harlot adored as the impersonation of reason,

in worship, the rival of the meek and holy Sufferer of Calvary, his indignation knew no bounds; to his sensitive mind it was a crime to be silent, or exercise moderation. There could not be any sympathy between himself and the leaders of this madness. They were atheists by profession, and licentious by practice; and their theory, in his mind, was worse than their practice. Had his moral sagacity enabled him to penetrate to the real cause of the evil, as we see it in our own day, and to have seen the madness as the natural rebound of human nature from the oppressive slavery of spiritual despotism, he would at least have waited more patiently to see the result. Had he seen even the glimmering of dawn struggling with the dense darkness, his course would have been different. He was a friend to freedom; but he could see no freedom where the noblest men and purest women were given daily as food to the guillotine. His views of the necessary conditions for the enjoyment of liberty were well defined.

"Men are qualified for civil liberty, in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their appetites; in proportion as their love to justice is above their rapacity; in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption; in proportion as they are more disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and good, in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist without a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."

Burke's last days were not such as his friends could have wished. Age brought with it many physical infirmities; the pangs were keener, because he had not spared himself in his days of strength. But none of his wondrous powers of mind suffered decay; nor did his humanity grow torpid; it seemed to glow with more than the old vigor of his manhood's prime. He had been honest, and he was poor. The son, upon whom many bright hopes were built, died on the eve of his entrance into Parliament, to occupy the seat made honorable by his illustrious father. It was a fearful shock, but he bore it with dignity. Some of the best men in the nation, such men as Windham and Wilberforce, came to consult with him as the oracle of the age.

"He hoped," he said, "to obtain the Divine mercy through the intercession of a blessed Redeemer, which he had long sought with unfeigned humiliation, and to which he looked with a trembling hope."

Great as were all of Edmund Burke's intellectual endowments, and stores of knowledge, and wit, and imagination, their luster

grows dim when compared with his philanthropic virtues, and it is but justice that these should receive their proper acknowledgment. A man in his station must of necessity bestow much labor on matters of no permanent value, and laws that but mark the transition state to correct action; therefore, the proper estimation to be put upon them, is to be sought in the spirit and aim of their endeavors. Burke, so estimated, presents a noble example of the statesman; he deserves to be classed with Clarkson and Wilberforce, although he was immeasurably in advance of them in intellect, and broader in the sphere of labors. The memory of such men deserves to be cherished, for we live in an age that needs such examples—the example of genius consecrated to the service of humanity in the political arena.

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#### ART. VII.—THE LOGOS OF PHILO JUDÆUS AND THAT OF ST. JOHN.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN A. REUBELT. — AFTER THE GERMAN OF DR. DORNER AND OTHERS.

IT sometimes happens that men of opposite views treat on some particular subject for the purpose of making, not the same, but a diametrically opposite use of it. This is eminently the case with the *λόγος* of Philo and that of St. John. Men whose religious views are entirely opposed to each other, agree that the *λόγος* of Philo is, if not in every particular, yet in the main features, that of St. John, but for the most opposite ends; the one party, taking it for granted that the Bible is true, have seen in this remarkable coincidence of many expressions used by Philo and the writers of the New Testament, and especially St. John, an additional proof of the truth of the Bible. This party is ably represented by Dr. Adam Clarke, the commentator, who is of opinion that Philo must either have seen the writings of St. John, or if not, he claims for him, at all events, a kind of secondary inspiration. "These testimonies are truly astonishing; and if we allow, as some contend, that Philo was not acquainted either with the disciples of our Lord or the writings of the New Testament, we shall be obliged to grant that there must have been some measure of Divine inspiration in that man's mind who could, in such a variety of cases, write so many words and sentences so exactly corresponding to those of the evangelists and apostles."\*

\* Notes at the close of the first chapter of John.

The other party, the so-called school of Tübingen, headed by Dr. Baur and others, takes it for granted that Philo's *λόγος* and that of John are identical; but, according to them, John was a Gnostic, *who copied Philo*. According to this "school," Christianity has little, if anything, to do with the historical person of Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus himself, and, of course, all his apostles and disciples, were, at best, Ebionites. Paul of Tarsus differed from them only with respect to the validity of the law; and Christianity proper took its origin toward the middle of the second century, out of the logology of Philo and the Hellenists, which had been adopted and developed by the Gnostics. It is in the interest of this school to deny that Christianity has any organic life of its own. Professor Gfröner (*das Jahrhundert des Heils*, Stuttgart, 1838, part II, page 431) says: "To every doctrine, yea, to almost every sentence of the New Testament, a parallel passage can be found in the Talmud, the Sohar, the Midrashim." Neither the logology nor the incarnation is allowed by this school to be peculiar to Christianity; but both of them were borrowed for it from older religious or philosophic systems. For this reason it may be an interesting, even a necessary task, to examine this subject more closely; and it is probable that even good Dr. Clarke, had he been acquainted with the use that has been made of views that were advanced by him, would have investigated the matter more thoroughly before passing a final judgment. It is true that in the "list of particular terms and doctrines found in Philo, with parallel passages from the New Testament," (and this list might have been considerably increased,) some terms seem to be identical, and, therefore, very apt to mislead. Some of these terms are: *υἱος Θεοῦ*, son of God; *δεύτερος Θεός*, second divinity; *λόγος πρωτόγονος*, first-begotten of God; *εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, image of God; *ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν ἀγγέλων*, superior to all angels; *ὑπεράνω παντός*, superior to all; *ὁ θεὸς λόγος ταῦτα—τὸν κόσμον—δε εσκόμηνεν*, the Divine word has made all things—the world; *ὑπὲρ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the vicar of God; *φῶς κόσμον*, light of the world; *ἥλιος νοητός*, ideal sun; *μόνῳ ἐξεστέ τὸν Θεὸν καθορᾶν*, he alone can see God, etc. Now it is unquestionably true, that if these terms, or only some of them, had been taken by Philo in the same sense in which St. John used them, the view taken by Clarke and others would be established beyond the possibility of even a rational doubt; but *this is not the case*.

It may become apparent, from a thorough examination of Philo's views, that his *God*, even, is neither the Christian nor the Jewish God, bearing a stronger resemblance to the *Ὄν* of Plato than to the

Jehovah of Moses; but such an examination would require more time than we can, for the present, bestow upon the subject. It is, however, under these circumstances, highly improbable, to say the least, that the Christian Trinity, which is unknown to the Old Testament, certainly not developed in it, should be found in Philo. The two points which are decisive in this question are: 1. *Is the λόγος of Philo a personification, or a real hypostasis?* 2. *Is Philo's λόγος really divine?* Should it appear that he is a mere personification, then even the strongest resemblance between Philo and St. John is of no avail; should he, however, appear as a hypostasis, but not as truly Divine, then, at most, an Arian Christ, but by no means the ὁμοούσιον of Athanasius, which is but a logical and consistent development of the teachings of St. John, could have been deduced from him. The reasons for the personality of Philo's λόγος are summed up by Lücke, as follows: 1. Philo calls his λόγος ἀρχάγγελος, archangel. To this it may be replied, that he calls him also ἀρχιερεύς, high priest; παράκλητος, advocate; and yet Lücke himself admits that these appellations prove no more than σφραγίς, image or seal, and δεσμός, bond, equally applied by him to the λόγος. But supposing that ἀρχάγγελος is taken in the same sense as the ἄγγελοι, even these are so identified with the ιδέαι, δυνάμεις, that their personality becomes questionable. Yea, since the λόγος is the unity of these δυνάμεις or ἄγγελοι, instead of saying, the angels are personal, and, therefore, the logos, one can, with equal right, say, either the logos is personal, then the ἄγγελοι are not, but are impersonal powers, whose union the logos is; or, the angels are personal, and then the logos is no longer their personal unity.

2. Philo calls the logos δεύτερος θεός, second divinity, but immediately adds that he says so catachrestically, since a second divinity, strictly speaking, would be for Philo a contradictio in adjecto. It is true, the passage in question refers to something divine that is less perfect than God, and can come into contact with the world, while God cannot. But it is by no means clear that this divine something, which is less perfect than God, is a personality, or only a personification of the revealing nature in God.

3. The logos is the image of God; but God being personal, the logos must be so also. But the body is also the image of the spirit, and a mirror reflects any object. The logos is, indeed, alive; but impersonal powers may be so too. And if this conclusion were correct, it would follow that nature is also personal, because it is the image of the logos.

The second point is the real divinity of the logos of Philo, the question about his personality being settled. Here the question,



already alluded to, arises, whether Philo's conceptions of his God are really *divine*, or rather physical. If his conceptions are only physical, the incompatibility of his system with Christianity is apparent at once, since, in the kingdom of the categories of nature, neither the differences nor unity can have their full force. If Philo, then, has no correct views of the Deity, his logos can, of course, not be that of John, who is *truly* Divine. But even the *really divine of Philo's system* cannot be predicated of his logos; for what is, according to him, the best and innermost, is *incommunicable*. Yet, after these proleptical remarks, it is high time to resume the proper thread of the subject, in order to treat it more fully and thoroughly.

Philo was a cotemporary of Christ, and while Palestine saw the Redeemer, Philo was the most remarkable representative of the Hellenistic Jews; and his system is the most direct counterpart of Christianity, so much so that many have been deceived by it. An acquaintance with the apostles or their writings, on the part of Philo, is out of the question. *In Philo, Judaism, tinctured with Hellenism, makes the bold attempt to accomplish, by force of thought, what the Messianic idea has proposed to itself, but also to supersede, by this attempt, the Messiah.* This ideal mixture of Hellenism and Judaism in Philo, accounts both for the fact that Philo has been, by rather superficial observers, mistaken for a Christian, and for his approximating to two opposite stand-points that cannot possibly be reconciled with each other.

The two opposites of his system, which continually flee from and seek each other, are not correctly represented by any effort to deduce the one from the other, in order to save the unity of the whole; yea, Philo himself did not effect this union; but *this is his historical importance*, that by him the old Hebrew view of the Deity is blended with a pagan view of the world, so that he starts a kind of theogony, and his abstract views of the Deity become, to a certain extent, concrete by the addition of another element, namely, that of emanation. On the other hand, his abstract monotheistical consciousness suppresses again each and every more concrete phenomenon that would emanate from his simple and absolute being.

Philo's monotheism drops what is the highest in the Hebrew monotheism, namely, the ethical energy of Jehovah, which flows from his justice and holiness. From the Hebrew ethics he falls back into Pagan physics, from which it follows that he *both has and has not* the difference between God and the world; his theogony becomes, at the same time, a cosmogony, and thus he corrupts his idea of God by that of the world, and that of the world again by that of the Deity.

It has been urged by some scholars, that Philo's God is absolutely

simple in his pure absoluteness, and therefore immutable. This divine attribute, it has been contended, makes an intermediate being necessary, namely, the *λόγος* of Philo, who, therefore, cannot be God himself, as in this way God would come into contact with the world, but must be rather an hypostasis, although of an inferior nature. It must be admitted that Philo treats in many passages of God, as being exalted above everything. "That there is a God," says Philo, (*De monarch.* § 3,) "we can learn from the world; for a great city, a work of so great art, can neither have made itself nor have come into existence by chance. But *how* God is, is impossible to find. It is, indeed, highly praiseworthy to search after the attributes of God, since this very searching has infinite charms; but nothing in the world can teach us how God is. 'Show thyself unto me,' said Moses. 'In the whole world I find no one that can tell me what thou art; thou must show thyself to me. I pray thee, yield to the prayers of thy humble friend, for thou alone canst do it. For as light, without being illuminated by something else, reveals itself, thus only thou canst show thyself.'"

Since Philo praises thus the desire to know God as noble and divine, one should think that he stands here at the threshold of wisdom, praying for the knowledge of God to be imparted by God himself, by revelation. But what answer does his God return to Moses, his representative of the pious portion of the human race? "It is, indeed, praiseworthy, what thou askest for; but thy prayer becomes no finite being. It would be, indeed, easy for me to grant it, but impossible for thee to receive it. I give to each, that is worthy of grace, what he can bear; but the heavens and the earth cannot comprehend me, how much less a human being!" Thus he denies, unqualifiedly, that God can be known by man. But this is not all; he describes his infinitude after the fashion of the apophatic theology, in such a manner that he is denied, objectively, *each and every attribute*, as goodness and beauty, and nothing is left to him but *undeterminableness*. (*Τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν ψυχῆς, οἱ δὲ σώματος γεγόνασαι φίλον. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς ἑταῖροι νοηταῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτοις φύσεσιν ἐνομιλεῖν δυνάμενοι, οὐδεμίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἰδέα παραβάλλονσι τὸ ἐν· ἀλλ' ἐμβιβάσαντες αὐτὸ πάσης ποιότητος—τὴν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον φαντασίαν ἐνεδέξαντο, μὴ μορφώσαντες αὐτὸ—*Some men are friends of the mind, others of the body. The friends of the mind, now being able to contemplate on ideal and bodiless natures, ascribe to the Supreme Being (*τὸ Ὄν*) no similitude with any creature; but, having divested it of every quality or attribute, they have adopted the idea of his merely existing, ascribing to him neither form nor shape, (*Quod Deus sit Immutabilis*, § ii.) It is the very

climax of happiness to think of God as merely existing, but as being altogether undeterminable.

But to this it can be replied, with equal right, on the other hand, Philo's God is by no means confined to himself, incommunicable. He is, on the contrary, *everywhere, the beginning and end of the universe*. He says, not only of the λόγος, that he is the creator of the world, poured out over everything; but he says also of God: "He fills out everything, passes through everything, and has left nothing destitute of himself," (πάντα γὰρ πεπλήρωκεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ διὰ πάντων διεληλυθε, καὶ κενὸν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔρημον ἀπολέλοιπεν ἑαυτοῦ.) He has been and always is creator of the universe; holds together and governs heaven and earth, water and air, and whatever is therein. Far from being satisfied with an undeterminable, incommunicable God, Philo calls him, as he calls also the λόγος, the place of ideas, the fullness in himself, and by himself, the place of the universe, i. e., him who has the universe for his fullness. (Ἵπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πεπλήρωται πάντα, περιέκοντος, οὐ περι εχομένου, ᾧ πάντα χεῖν τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι μόνω—The universe is filled with the Deity, he circumscribing everything, but being circumscribed by nothing, and he alone being able to be everywhere and nowhere.—Ad Gen., xi, 5.) The world belongs, of necessity, to God, and has, by this very fact, the certainty of being everlasting and incorruptible. If the world would sink into nothingness, God's own existence would become unenviable; yea, solitude and ennui would be death to God himself. Philo, then, speaking so much of God's *all-sufficiency in himself*, must be understood as implying that it is a real want for God, in consequence of his goodness, to leave nothing without himself; but that he, although he gives everything to the world, cannot receive anything from it in turn; he is in the world, but not contaminated by the world; he is the active principle (δραστήριον) and the world merely passive, (παθητικόν=οὐσία=ὕλη.) (Εἰ γὰρ τις ἐδελήσειε τὴν αἰτίαν, ἧς ἕνεκα τὸδε τὸ πᾶν ἐδημιουργεῖτο, διερευνᾶσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι μὴ διαμαρτεῶ τοῦ σκοποῦ φάμενος, ὅπερ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἶπε τις· ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν οὐ χάριν τῆς ἀρίστης αὐτοῦ φύσεως οὐκ ἐφθονησεν οὐσία, μηδ' ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐχοῦσιν καλόν, δυναμένη δὲ γενέσθαι πάντα—If any should desire to find the cause for which God created all things, he seems to me not to miss the point who says, what one of the ancients has said, that the Father and Creator is good, for which cause he did not envy his own most excellent nature to matter that has no beauty in itself, but can become everything.—De Opif. Mundi, § 5.) From this extract it appears that, according to Philo, matter is eternal, not created by God, but only shaped and molded by him, and the

world perfect and indestructible, which two points are at variance with the Christian consciousness; but it also appears that our assertion is true, namely, that Philo's system consists of altogether heterogeneous elements that cannot be reconciled with each other; and those that would argue the necessity of an intermediate being between God and the world, because God himself cannot come into contact with anything, feel the ground under their feet give way and disappear.

For, if so, why does his Supreme Being come into so frequent contact with the world, matter being, indeed, foreign to him, but capable to receive him? But altogether incompatible with the idea of the λόγος, as a distinct hypostasis, is the word of Philo: Οὐδὲν τοῦ θείου τέμνεται κατ' ἀπάρτησιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκτείνεται—Nothing Divine extends by separation, but only expands. *As far, then, as the λόγος is divine, he is not an hypostasis distinct from God, but the expanding God himself.* But anything undivine Philo's λόγος has nowhere in himself; he does not create matter, but only stamps himself upon it as a seal, and this act, too, is often ascribed to God, so that the λόγος can only be God himself in a certain point of view. And where does Philo show the least apprehension that he may destroy the unity of God by his logology? And yet he could not fail to do so, if he means to designate by his λόγος an hypostasis distinct from God. On reading attentively De Somn., §§ 37–41, one sees that, according to Philo, a plurality in God owes its origin not to God himself, but to the inferior stand-point of the individual, the φαντασία of the individual, as he elsewhere calls it. It is true he does not look upon this φαντασία as something altogether arbitrary, or merely subjective; but the one God appears, for the best interests of man, in different aspects, that man may be able to comprehend something of him in every stage of mental culture. On the highest stage he has the Supreme Being, whom he had, on a lower stage, as the λόγος; but as soon as he has the supreme God, the λόγος ceases being an hypostasis, and becomes the self-revealing God, so that the idea of plurality is entirely excluded. Whenever he employs peculiar names to designate God in his different aspects, as creator or preserver, he adds, in every instance, the necessary correctives, so that God's unity is not endangered thereby. It is true he calls (De Mundi Opif.) the λόγος not only the world-conceiving and world-creating power of God, the proper term to designate God, as far as he comes into contact with the world, the δραστημιον; but he calls him also *Son, the first-begotten of God*, the connecting link between God and the external world, mediator, high priest, intercessor, surety, archangel, pillar, etc. The meaning and pro-

priety of these terms will become apparent from considering the different ideas which Philo attaches to his *λόγος*.

1. Philo's *logos* is a divine faculty or power, either of thinking or creating, or both combined. In this sense he is identical with the *νοῦς*; (De Migr. Abr. § i;) the *λόγος* is called the divine house or dwelling of the *νοῦς*, and means thus the ideal center in God, while the *νοῦς* means the active principle, *δραστήριον*, a term given to the *λόγος* in other passages. In the *λόγος* rests the world, also the ideal world; out of him it could not exist: (*οὐδὲ ὁ ἐκ τῶν ιδεῶν κόσμος ἄλλον ἂν ἔχει τόπον, ἢ τὸν θεῖον λόγον*—nor may the ideal world have another resting-place than the divine *λόγος*.) In this sense the *λόγος* is identical also with the *σοφία*, (De Ebriet., § 8,) is the *ἐπιστήμη*, knowledge, of the creator, mother of everything created, and God himself the creator, "cohabiting with her, not like a man, God has brought forth the birth of the world; receiving into herself the Divine seed, she gave birth to the only, well-beloved son of God, the visible world." Thus the ideal world is the elder, the visible world the younger son of God; time is the son of the world and the grandson of God.

2. The *λόγος* of God is the active principle, *δραστήριον*; he is not only the faculty of thinking and creating, but also the thinking and creating principle. But even in this capacity he is no hypostasis distinct from God, but a personified power of God. God saw that a beautiful image cannot be without a beautiful original, that nothing sensual is blameless, except it is made after an archetype, a pre-conceived idea. He created, therefore, when he was about to create the visible world, the ideal world, *κόσμος νοητός*, in order to have a bodiless archetype, like unto God, for this visible world, this younger image of the elder. But this ideal world must not be conceived as existing in some particular place. As an architect, before he builds a city, plants it and imprints every conceived idea upon his mind as upon wax; this ideal city has as yet no local existence, but by it the real city is afterward built. Thus God, when he was about to build this world, this *μεγαλόπολις*. The planning of the ideal world is here ascribed to God himself. Philo continues: As the soul of the artist is the place of this ideal city, so the world out of ideas, *ὁ ἐκτῶν ιδεῶν κόσμος*, has no other place than the divine *λόγος*, who planned it. The *logos* is, then, the intellect, *νοῦς*, of God, that plans the world. Immediately afterward he says: "Also the world-creating power has for its source the really good;" but the really good is, according to Philo, God. And as he makes the *logos* the place, *τόπος*, for all powers, *δυνάμεις*, he must understand by him God in a certain aspect. "The father and creator," says Philo, "is good, for



which reason he does not envy to matter his own best substance. For matter had by itself nothing good, although it could become everything, (as cited above.) Without needing another assistant, (for what other was there?) making use only of himself, God resolved to furnish nature with unspeakable graces, which by itself could not give anything good."

3. As the λόγος of Philo is the architect of the ideal world, κόσμος νοητός, so he is also the result, the thought, *i. e.*, the actual world itself. "To speak plainly," says he, "the ideal world is nothing else than the λόγος of the world-creating God; § 6 εἰδέ τις ἐθέλησκει γομνοτέροις χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασε, οὐδὲν ἂν ἕτερον εἶποι εἶναι τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον, ἢ θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμοποιούντος — if one would make use of simpler terms, he would say, that the ideal world is nothing but the logos of the world-creating God." The ideal world is no more distinct from the logos, than the ideal city is distinct from the mind of the architect; neither is the λόγος distinct from God, but he is God conceived of as God's intellect, or the world-creating power. "It is apparent," says Philo in the same place, "that the archetypal seal, which we call ideal world, is the archetype itself, the idea of ideas, the λόγος of God."

4. As to the real, sensual world, ὁ κόσμος αἰσθητός, the λόγος is often called its active divine principle. "He proceeds (ἀνατέλει) from God, is begotten for the purpose, that this world may come into existence." This is the point that seems to authorize the idea of the λόγος being an hypostasis. But it follows by no means from the expressions used to designate the proceeding of the λόγος from God, that he really is a personality, because the same expressions are used with regard to the world, which is evidently no personality. The world is called in numberless instances the *younger son of God*, so that, if the clearer is to throw light upon what is dark, *the elder son can, still less, be a personality*; and this the more so, as one is a world, like the other; the one the κόσμος νοητός, the other the κόσμος αἰσθητός. Or must the κόσμος νοητός be personal, in order to enter the ἔλη=οὐσία=matter? If Philo knows of any real creative act which he does not ascribe to God, but to the λόγος exclusively, then he, the logos, can be thought of as a real hypostasis, whereas emanatism does not need a personality for the transition of the ideal into the material world; yea, for such a system a personality does not suit at all.

But, as has been remarked above, the formation or molding of the world is ascribed to God also. This world, the younger son of God, is not created by the λόγος, acting as the representative of God; but God creates the world by himself, "making use of himself and



of no other helper," by imprinting "*his ideal world, as the elder son, upon matter, as a seal, as it were.*" Matter is the passive principle, παθητικόν, without soul and motion by itself, without order, without quality, full of disharmony and contrariety. But it could become everything, capable of being changed into the very best; could receive order, definiteness, animation, similitude, equality, and harmony. It is moved, molded, and animated by the Divine intelligence, and thus it became the most perfect masterpiece, this world, the μεγαλόπολις. According to Philo, matter was not created; but God found of it exactly as much as was necessary for the creation of the world, neither too much nor too little, (De Incorrupt. Mundi: ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲν γίγνεται, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν φθείρεται. Ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ οὐδαμῇ ὄντος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι τι—as out of nothing, nothing can come, so nothing can be destroyed i. e., made to cease, for out of that which is nowhere nothing can come forth.) When he says, then, of the world, that it was created, (De Opif. Mundi,) he can only mean that the imprint of the λόγος upon matter, or the self-expansion of God into the ὕλη, has its cause continually in God, which becomes for it a communication of himself to it, (the world.) The substance of the world (both as to matter and the λόγος) has not taken its origin in time, and does not cease to exist, is incorruptible, since ἀπραξία, idleness, and ἐρημία, solitude, would be to God = θάνατος, death. The world is the son, υἱός, ἔκγονός of God; for, as viewed by God, it is nothing else than the ideal world, with all its fullness, brought into contact with the ὕλη, shining over into it.

Not the ὕλη is the discerning, separating principle, but the κόσμος νοητός is in itself already a regular, well-arranged multiplicity of ideas, and, for Philo, the foundation of all real harmony, (De Mundi Opif.: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἑτερόντι ἐστὶν ἢ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμός, ἥδη τὴν αἰσθητὴν πόλιν τῇ νοητῇ κτίζειν δια νοούμενον,—for the ideal city is nothing else than the conception of the architect, being on the point of creating the actual city by the ideal one.) This unity, which is, at the same time, fullness, being brought into contact with matter, is with it the world as it actually exists. Creation, in the proper sense of the term, is, according to Philo, out of the question, as the ideal world becomes the real, (world,) not by undergoing even a change in itself, but by becoming for the ὕλη what it always had been in itself, which was something new, not for the ideal world, but for the ὕλη alone.

Taking now, in addition to what has thus far been developed, namely, that the λόγος is partly identical with the world, and, therefore, not hypostatical, partly identical with God, and only in God

personal, but not in himself; I say, taking, in addition to all this, into consideration the monotheism of Philo, which excludes a plurality of persons most decidedly, and denies to everything out of God a world-creating power most positively, and the hypostasis of Philo's λόγος being to him an hypostasis is more than shaken. As the inward being of God is, according to him, absolutely simple, admitting of no distinction, the ὁμοούσιον of the Church, or the principle from which the Church developed it, is also altogether foreign to him. *Where God is so little recognized in his absolute liberty, so little conceived of in his ethical attributes, he can be nothing more than the substance, or the obscure cause of the world, to which alone all distinctions belong.*

We have, however, to consider yet what meaning Philo attaches to these personal appellations given to the λόγος, and how, on the whole, Philo reconciles the divine activity over against the world with the abstract being of God.

After what has been said, it cannot be difficult to appreciate those appellations properly. If the λόγος, as κόσμος νοητός, is the principle of the actual world, he can also be called the ruler of the world, and of the process developed in it. These powers being called personifiedly, not hypostatically, λόγοι, ιδέαι, ἄγγελοι, the λόγος can with propriety be called ἄγγελος πρεσβύτατος, ἀρχάγγελος πολυώνυμος, (many-named archangel.) In order to express that God has his adequate mirror (εἰκλόν) in the κόσμος νοητός, and that his Divine activity exerted upon the actual world is not identical with his ideal, world-conceiving activity, in which God remains identical with himself, Philo can call the λόγος, in his relation to the sensual world, the ὑπαρχος, or lieutenant of God.

God is, κ. ε., the ruler of the universe, (ποιμήν,) but he has placed over the world his reason, his first-born; that is, the divine activity with reference to the world, has always, as its final principle, that in itself from which the all-ruling and all-pervading idea of the world proceeded. Now, also, the title high-priest, which is given to the λόγος, or to God as λόγος, becomes intelligible. The λόγος (quis rerum divin.) stands on the boundary, (of the ideal and actual world;) to him as the archangel or eldest logos, has the father, the progenitor of all things, assigned the eminent task to keep asunder the finite and the infinite, to keep the bad from the good. He is, thus, the guardian of what is finite, the border on the side of pantheism, since it is declared by this category of the λόγος, that the world can never be God, as considered in himself, but it might be God according to his activity. But even this idea, that is, the world's being God in his activity, is partly excluded by Philo, since matter, which

is, according to him, undivine, is a necessary ingredient of the world. Thus he is protected from Pantheism in the latter sense, not by his idea of God, as being not ethical, but only by matter or by his dualism. In this respect he calls the world of the λόγος also the garment of God. For this actual world, "for whatever is mortal, the same logos is both intercessor with God and ambassador of the Lord to the subject," consequently mediator in both directions. And he rejoices in his office. Philo introduces him as speaking thus: "I stand in the midst between the Lord and you, since I am neither unbegotten by God, nor begotten like you, but the middle of the extremes, a surety to both; to God, that he may be certain that the whole race will never apostatize, choosing disorder for order; but to the creature, that it may rest assured that God will never neglect the works of his hands. For I will be the herald of peace that brings to the creature the message of peace from God, the eternal guardian of peace."

De Profugis, § 20, the divine λόγος is represented as the high priest, blameless both as to birth and being; his father is the νοῦς, his mother the σοφία. The oldest λόγος is clothed with the world as with a garment, with earth and water, air and fire, and whatever proceeds therefrom. As the intellect of God, he is the bond that keeps all parts as members together; as the soul of man keeps the members of the body together. The λόγος is therefore called *high priest*, as the blameless unity of the world, which unity he represents in the capacity of κόσμος νόητός, as the idea of the world, and in this idea the representative parts are reconciled to, and represented before God. He is also high priest, since he is no inefficient idea, but makes the actual world, with its plastic matter, a real image of himself, or the garment in which he lives, and has everywhere his being and realizes his ideas. And as this living and powerful unity he is a guaranty to the world that it is perfect in the sight of God, and to God himself, being himself the world as to what constitutes it the κόσμος, (beauty,) not only ideally, but also really. Yet such an idea of the world excludes all history. The λόγος is not the idea of the world, to be realized by the world, by free agents, by God through revelation in the progress of history; but this (Philo's) idea of the world is at once physical. Here, then, is the point where the irreconcilableness of Philo's system with the Christian idea becomes apparent, while thus far we have met with a similarity with Christian dogmas, at least in terms that might easily mislead. Yet, before we proceed to develop this specific difference between Philo and Christianity, i. e., Philo's position with regard to the Messianic idea of his people and his relation to Chris-

tianity, it will be well to glance once more briefly over what has been said.

From this it appears, that there is not only no necessity of conceiving of Philo's *λόγος* as an hypostasis, but that every passage that has been quoted for this purpose, namely, to prove the hypostasis of the *λόγος*, is in reality against it. Moreover, an hypostatical generality in God would be entirely at variance with the whole mode of thinking of a man like Philo, who is pushed by such an irresistible force or power from a multiplicity to the unity of substance, sacrificing, as he does, to this longing after unity the deep, ethical difference which old Hebrewism makes between God and the world, in such a manner that only the riff of the *ἐλγ* could save him from plunging into positive atheism.

But it will not do, either, to make the *λόγος* unqualifiedly identical with God, he being neither an hypostasis nor God in himself, (*τὸ Ὀν*.) But as the *λόγος* is contained in God, the assertion appears well founded, that in Philo's logology the doctrine of differences in God is, although from afar off, prepared. God is distinguished as to his being in himself and to his activity. (A higher category is not attained by Philo.) As God in himself he is *τὸ Ὀν*, as God in his activity he is the *λόγος*. To these two main points a third one is added, by this, that he is, as logos, 1. *Indivisible*, and both the world of the divine thoughts and the agent that thinks them; 2. That he reveals the ideal world through matter, by which he *realizes it*. Thus we have to look upon the Divine life in three stages, as it were, to which it expands itself, namely: *God in himself, the ideal world, the actual world*. But to distinguish these three is only an attempt, as the differences disappear entirely at a closer inspection; for the actual world, as far as it is a development of the Divine life, is not in itself different from the ideal world, but is so only by matter, (as we have seen above.) The ideal world or logos can neither be thought of as something objectively different from God, as God without reason would no longer be a God. All apparent plurality in God's being and activity, both with regard to the ideal and actual world, has therefore its origin in man. So also with regard to the theophanies of the Old Testament. When Philo, in order not to bring God into contact with the world, represents these theophanies as a beaming forth of his power, he does not look upon these powers as separate from God, but he considers each and every one of them as infinite in itself. (De Abrah., § 22; De Conf. Ling., § 33.) Since Moses cannot see God, he desires to see, at least, his companions, the Divine powers, which as unity are called the *δόξα* of God. But God answers that they also are invisible and

ideal; incomprehensible, like God, in their being; but beam forth an image and impress of their energy, (*ἐνέργεια*.) For to that which is without shape or quality they impart both, without undergoing the least change in themselves. Thus they are put on an equal footing with God himself: "Do not expect to comprehend either me or any of my powers according to our substance; what is within thy reach I give thee readily and cheerfully. Therefore I invite thee to contemplate the world."

The whole world made by God exhales every morning and every evening sacrifices of thanksgiving. (*Quis Rerum Div.*, § 41.) It is animated and intelligent; its innate reason is the law, the order of the universe. It is a son of God, itself divine, emphatically the great city, *μεγαλόπολις πρὸς ἀλήθειαν*. It is one and entire, its power unconquerable, containing all in itself; it cannot be dissolved into parts, being indestructible. (*De Mundo*, § 14.) It cannot be brought into confusion either, nor can it even increase or have different stages or ages. If so, it would be at first, like children, a child, (*ἄλογος*), which to say would be impiety. It cannot, according to Philo, be denied without sin that the world is always perfect, both as to soul and body, (*ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀφθαρτος*.) The doctrine that the world will ever be burned up, yea, that of a palingenesis of it in general, is an abomination to Philo, the world being perfect and beautiful such as it is. He has imbibed the principles of Grecian philosophy, which make the world appear unto him as perfect. Having fallen from the ethical to the physical stand-point, he has no idea, no need of history; according to his views there is no disharmony in the world, consequently no need of redemption. But having only the world for the substance of God, in all passages in which he wishes and ought to speak of God, he puts, by the same confusion of ideas, Divine attributes in place of the world. The highest place in the world is occupied by man, namely, the original man, between whom and the *λόγος*, however, there is no difference, so that he cannot be looked upon as belonging to the actual world. Yet man, with all his imperfections, represents, in the material world, by his body, the world in miniature. The world is the ideal man, man the world in miniature, uniting in himself the four elements. But God has given him, above all things, the excellent boon of reason, the same that is in God being also in man. From this it follows, as a matter of course, that since the world alone is the sum total of the Divine reason, it cannot be otherwise with that of man. Yet man forms the unreal point of the actual world, and most of all he who in his thoughts and actions agrees with the order and reason inherent in the world, which becomes in the conscious-



ness of man the law, (*νόμος*.) Such is the pious and the wise man. The flower of the human race are the Jews; that of the Jews, again, both the prophets, as interpreters of the Divine will, and the wise men; the wise men being of equal value with the world, (*ισότιμον τῷ κόσμῳ*.—De Sacrif. Abel, § 3.) This nobility of man is a propitiation, a ransom for the world. The Jews especially, this nation most beloved of God, fill the offices of prophet and high priest for the whole world, in an uninterrupted, well-arranged manner. (De Vita Moys., § 50.) For this reason it is, that the high priest, when he enters into the holy of holies, wears the symbols of the whole world, being the representative of the universe before God. (De Vita Moys., § 14.) Other priests pray and sacrifice only for friends and citizens; but the high priest of the Jews offers up prayer and thanksgiving not only for the whole human race, but also for the elements of nature, air, fire, earth, and water, looking upon the world as his native home—and it is so in reality—in whose place he is in the habit of reconciling the prince by prayers and entreaties.

Thus this representation also has a physical character. The world is reconciled by Israel without being aware of it, without appropriating to itself this vicarious act of Israel. The equality of all men before God is not known to Philo either, but is concealed from his view by a hierarchia terrestriis, which is an image of the heavenly one, and this gradation of humanity also is connected with the physical character of his system. This physical character and the contradiction contained in it become still more apparent by the fact that neither the high priest nor the wise man has in himself the power to reconcile the world. But the same world which he is to reconcile, is the son, the real paraclete, whom he must resemble as a microcosm, whose aid he needs in order to make his worship acceptable. For this reason also he must wear the symbols of the universe, that the individual members may, in its totality, repair their defects, and God may see in it everything as good. He wears in his garments the image of the universe, that he may make his own life worthy of the nature of the universe by a constant contemplation of it, but likewise that the whole universe may join in his worship. Now, if Philo admitted an historical development of revelation and humanity, his representing the parts as atoned for by the whole might be true in a certain point of view; for to this whole, the entire future development as secured by the Messiah—if he would admit the Messianic idea—would these belong. But with him it is the world, such as it is, that is to reconcile man to God; which is to say, since man is part of the world, that man needs no reconcilia-



tion; he is reconciled to God by his very existence; he is, such as he is, good and acceptable in the sight of God; or, if he is to be reconciled by the objective world, the world is the higher, and thus his apparent nobility, his distinction, vanishes.

It is thus scarcely necessary to draw the conclusion that Philo was a stranger to those pious wishes and expectations that swelled the bosom of every orthodox Jew. His Messianic idea is a dead letter, retaining, as he does, only the expectation that all the Jews, scattered over the whole world, will be led back to Palestine by a supernatural phenomenon in heaven, (*δψις*), which will be visible to the pious alone; which, indeed, is strangely at variance with the world-citizenship which he claims for his nation, as well as with his being so well pleased with the whole world. This last remnant of the Messianic idea, which he had received by tradition, was foreign to his system, and, in itself, without meaning; but, foreign as it is to Philo, it still gives us an idea of the energy of the Messianic hopes of the Alexandrian Jews of his times, to whom he renders this tribute. We have now, in conclusion, only to investigate yet why the Messianic idea and that of the incarnation find no place in his system. The answer is: *an atonement is, in his views, needless, on account of his views on sin and divine justice—the incarnation an impossibility.* He seems, indeed, to claim liberty for man, but adds, immediately, that God exempts nothing from his power, with which, in Philo's views, individual liberty is scarcely compatible. The category of holy love is foreign to him. Yet what he says on the creation of man is especially instructive. The higher nature of man, his rational type, had to be imprinted by the Divine λόγος, not by that God who is before the λόγος, and better than all logical nature; therefore God speaks of himself as if speaking of another, (Gen. i, 27,) "I have made man after the image of God." But why does God speak of himself in the plural, (Gen. i, 26; iii, 22; xi, 7,) "Let us make man," etc.? Philo replies that this has reference to the powers surrounding God, since it did not become God (τὸ Ὄν) to come into immediate contact with the world. These powers, *ideæ*, angels, had to form the mortal part of our being, imitating the art of him that had formed the royal part in us. The princely part was formed by the Prince of all things, the lower one by inferior powers. But man was to be capable of choosing between good and evil, while other beings have either neither virtue nor vice, like nature, or only virtues, like the heavenly bodies; and thus God had to transfer the origin of evil (*γένεσις κακῶν*) to inferior beings, reserving to himself the origin of good. For the mixed is partly becoming for God, since the idea of the better is mixed with it:

partly not becoming for him, on account of the opposite, since the Father cannot be the cause of evil for his children. According to this, evil has its origin in creation, in which inferior beings took part. In other passages he reduces the origin of evil to matter. Personal guilt seems thus to be out of the question, since Philo speaks of evil in such a manner as if the will of man had nothing to do with it. If evil is only physical, there is, then, none at all. Agreeably to this he makes but little account of evil. He claims for every soul the Divine power of virtue, (Quod Omnis Probus Liber, § 16), while he says, in another place, "Not to sin at all is only God's, perhaps also a Divine man's, prerogative." This fluctuating looseness culminates in his theology in the relation in which Divine justice stands to his mercy. "God," says he, "is not unmerciful, but benevolent by nature. Who believes that, repents easily, hoping that God will forget." (De Profugis, § 18.) Those passages of Scripture that speak of anger and justice in God, he endeavors to interpret by comparing the lawgiver to a physician, who accommodates himself to the patient, not always to truth. That the ignorant may fear, and for the purpose of helping thoroughly, the lawgiver represents God as being angry. Of that earnest struggle, through which the noblest of the Old Testament people pass, in order to satisfy Divine justice and to secure God's favor, Philo knows absolutely nothing. He divests the religious process of that which gives it force, namely, of Divine justice, converting it into a mere figure of speech, whereby the whole is relaxed, the longing for something better extinguished, and the ethical consciousness endemonistically poisoned. For a Divine goodness that is not just must be physical, and can have for its highest and only enjoyment *nothing but a state of well-being*, even if this should be the feast of knowledge. (De Opif. Mundi, at large.) He can, indeed, not deny the evil consequences of sin; but as far as he refers them to God they have for their exclusive object the welfare of man. In this sense must be understood the *κολαστική δύναμις*—the punishing power, which he ascribes to the *Ὁν*. Of the same kind is also his doctrine of providence and God's care of us, altogether physical, and neither moral nor religious. That a father should take care of his child is necessary, by the laws of nature, (*φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἀναγκαῖον*.)

By this contempt of Divine justice, Philo has become the predecessor of the Gnostics; by his doctrine concerning Divine goodness he seems to approach the New Testament, and to go beyond the Old, but falls, in fact, below it, and makes the Christian redemption needless. When speaking of the return of his people, he seems, indeed, to have the old Hebrew doctrine concerning a previous atonement

forced upon him; but, according to Philo, the Jews will not be in want of intercessors with the Father, as they will have three mediators of atonement, (παράκλητοι τῶν καταλλαγίων,) namely: 1. The mercy and goodness of God himself, who always prefers mercy to punishment. 2. The sanctity of the ancestors of the nation; for the disembodied souls, that bring pure and undefiled offerings to their Lord, intercede successfully for their sons and descendants. 3. The last paraclete is the reformation of those that are led to the covenant.

We have seen above that, according to Philo, the world is always reconciled to God, is constantly engaged in the act of reconciliation, standing in its λόγος as a blameless unity before God. All further development must accordingly appear to him as superfluous, as disturbing the harmony and peace of the world, which he views not in an ethical, but Hellenistic light. The law given by Moses is identical with the law of the world. The world is rational; the law, which is inherent in the world, has been brought to the consciousness of man by Moses, therefore it is eternal and not far from us; it is perfect and whole, admitting of no improvement.

As Philo teaches that man was created after the image of God, that he partakes of the nature of the λόγος, the inference appears plausible, that he postulates the most intimate relation between God and man, and that the idea of the incarnation cannot be foreign to him. He speaks of heroes, born out of immortal and mortal seed, in whom the mortal admixture was governed by the divine seed, and says, that this end is attainable still. But notwithstanding all this, he denies a *real* union between the Divine and the human. Where the Divine light shines, the human goes out, (Quis Rerum Div., § 53,) and where the Divine goes out, the human rises, (Θέμις γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶ θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ συννοικῆσαι — for it is against the Divine will, that the human shall dwell together with the Divine.) For this reason, a state of ecstasy is absolutely necessary for receiving prophetic inspiration. The reason of this is not Philo's distinction between an unknown and actual God, since God says to Moses: "For me, it would be easy to grant what thou desirest, but not for thee to receive it;" but both his physical idea of God, and the admixture of the ὕλη to all mortals, is the cause "why God is not communicable according to the infinity of his grace, but according to the capacity of the creature to receive. His power is infinite; all Divine powers are without limit; the creature is too weak to receive them, wherefore God gave not everything to us, but only as much as our nature can bear." Man must lay down his body, in order to arrive at a higher state of existence. His distinction between God

as the active principle, (*δραστήριον*), and the world as the passive principle, (*παθητικόν*), would be done away with by the incarnation. While Christianity sees in the human body not only an organ of the spirit, but also a requisite for the self-actualization of the same, Philo knows neither to look upon suffering as a deed also, nor sees he in the body anything else than a limit, a barrier. If he would need a Christ at all, he would have a docetic one, (*Λόγος αἰδίας*), an everlasting logos; but he does not even desire a new theophany of the logos. Even a metaphysical union of the cosmical opposites, God and world, he has so little succeeded in effecting, that man, in whose personality they center, the *λόγος* and the *ἔλλη*, does not really represent this union, in two directions. For God remains foreign to humanity; Philo's idea of the Deity is far from seeing the cause of man's existence in God; and man remains so foreign to the other extreme, the *ἔλλη*, that he realizes his idea fully by laying it aside, by becoming disembodied, as Philo conceives of his original man, and those that are perfect. Thus the two extremes, God and *ἔλλη*, lie beyond man, limiting absolutely his knowledge and his liberty, and thus standing opposed to him as absolute mysteries, and as an unconquerable power of gravity. But these two extremes are also irreconciled to each other, and as their dualism produces the greatest unhappiness with consciousness of man, so he places also above God himself, who can never conquer matter fully, however desirous he may be of effecting it, a dark fate; divests his idea of God of all mere atheistical absoluteness, and thus makes it really pagan. Philo, inebriated with the Grecian idea of wisdom and beauty, knows how to cover up these contradictions, and to impart to the scientific, ethical, and religious comfortlessness of his stand-point the appearance of cheerfulness and beauty. But while the Grecian beauty is natural, his harmony is artificial and powerless. This harmony, however, shallow as it is, he looks upon as something higher, namely, as that union of the pagan and of the Jewish religion, which could be effected only through Christ; and we must confess that in his system the human mind has made the attempt to effect a union of the antechristian religions. Newly-born Christianity had thus, as it were, a rival in this attempt. But however dazzling for a superficial observer the similitude of many of his phrases and ideas with Christianity may be, their principles are diametrically opposed to each other, and even those expressions that are apparently identical have in their connections widely different meanings. So every reader of the Bible knows, that the *λόγος* of St. John, and all the epithets given to him, the terms *world*, *man*, and even *God*, mean things different from what we have found Philo to designate by the

same terms. Like Christianity, Philo would represent the world as celebrating an everlasting reconciliation by the *λόγος*; but what could be effected only by the fact of an humble condescension on the part of the *λόγος*, and what a pious desire was justified in waiting for as a Divine fact, that Philo fancies as accomplished forever, as accomplishing continually, and thus he becomes antagonistical to Christianity. His system approaches thus as a specter-like antagonism the cradle of Christianity, and appears on that horizon on which was to rise Christianity in order to set no more, as a dazzling, dissolving *fata morgana*. That the logology of St. John and Christianity has nothing to do with Philo's, we may, after what has been developed in the preceding pages, affirm without fear of successful contradiction; whether his logology and the incarnation, in particular, have anything in common with either Judaism or paganism, as it existed in the time of Christ, may be made the subject of investigation in one or two future articles.

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#### ART. VIII.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

##### GREAT BRITAIN.

**The Protestant Churches.**—*The missionary labors of the English Churches* on the most extensive and promising missionary field of Christianity have been sadly interrupted by the Indian insurrection. But it is confidently hoped that much good will result from the momentary distress. The general observance of the day appointed for humiliation and prayer, has been an edifying example for all Europe. Many statesmen who before were opposed to the Indian government lending any moral influence to the efforts of the missionary, have changed their mind, and it is expected that, while no violence of any kind will be used to bring about the conversion of Hindoos and Mahomedans, yet the Christianization of India will meet with a more energetic support on the part of the government. The missionary societies are fully alive to the importance of the crisis, and prepare themselves for a vigorous revival and extension of their Indian missions. The Wesleyan connection, in particular, has given a laudable example to the other denominations, by making great efforts to

increase the number of its missionaries in India. In this commonness of affliction and hope the Evangelical portion of the Established Church has given another proof of its catholic spirit, by freely associating with Dissenters in common prayer. But the *Puseyites* have called this step a palpable violation of the spirit and the letter of the Prayer Book and Canons, and a wanton scandal and offense of the Church. The necessary development of Romanizing tendencies in the Tractarian party has led to a split, one fraction, whose organ is the *Union*, carrying its sympathy with Rome so far as to create the suspicion, even among the other fraction of the same party, that their union with Rome is already an accomplished fact, and that they remain in the State Church only to lead over to Rome greater masses. It is gratifying to see that, while the Protestant character of the Establishment is still jeopardized, the dissenting denominations carry prosperously onward the mission of Protestantism. The storms which threatened the Congregational Union have subsided, and its last autumnal meeting has again been a peaceable one. The fame of Spurgeon, the great

Baptist preacher, is not yet at its zenith, and the day appointed by the queen for humiliation and prayer assembled round his pulpit the unprecedented number of 23,000 hearers.

**The Roman Church.**—New measures are concerted by the pope with some of the Irish bishops to break the stubbornness of *Young Ireland*, which is more desirous to secure social reforms than to work for the glory of the Roman Church. That there is, however, a sufficient amount of fanaticism left in the lower classes of the people, appears from the disgraceful riots in Belfast, where a Roman Catholic mob attempted to interfere with the right of Protestant ministers to preach in the open air. More gratifying intelligence is the news, that Dr. Newman has been commissioned to make a new English version of the Bible. Though it cannot be expected that this version will be in all respects a faithful one, it is likely to increase the number of Bible readers in the Roman Church.

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The Roman Church likewise continues to extend her associations, and to found new ones. *The Society of S. Charles Borromeo*, for spreading Catholic books, reports its receipts during the last year as amounting to 47,000 thalers, which is an increase of 11,000 thalers. *The Young Mechanics' Catholic Associations* (Gesellen Vereine) are counting nearly thirty thousand members, and are becoming popular among the working classes of the people. *The Associations of Christian Art* are ahead in their organization of similar Protestant associations, and held their second General Assembly at Regensburg. The Roman Temperance Associations were in some districts, as, for example, Oldenburg, more successful than the Protestant. But, on the whole, the growth of the Roman associations remains far behind the grand development of the Protestant. The General Assembly of the *Catholic Associations* held this year at Salzburg looked, in comparison with the assemblies of Berlin and Stuttgart, like a failure. No more than one hundred deputies were present. Many of the speeches showed how little influence the Roman Church has, as yet, on German society at large. We refer, in particular, to the statement that among the larger newspapers, no more than six are in the service of Rome. If the Roman influence increases, as it undoubtedly does, it is especially due to the continuing protection of the princes. Nowhere is this felt so much as in *Austria*, whose government confers extraordinary favors on the Roman Church. After having given the theological faculty of Innsbruck to the Jesuits, it even calls some theologians of Rome, renowned only for skill in scholastic and sophistic subtleties, to the University of Vienna. It gives its consent to the erection of a commercial institution in Vienna, only on the condition that its manager be always a member of the Roman Church. It forbids the press from treating on religious subjects. It confides more and more state institutions to the care of monastic orders. So it has

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Switzerland has reason to be satisfied with its religious anniversaries. The assembly of the *Pastoral Society*, at Lausanne, was attended by about two hundred and forty clergymen of very divergent parties, and its deliberations were, throughout, characterized by a spirit of fraternal charity. The *Société Évangélique* at Geneva, reported of the auspicious progress of Protestant missions in France, Algeria, and Piedmont; and was able to send a re-enforcement of three young ministers to the Waldenses of Piedmont. The anniversaries of Basil (*Protestant Aid Societies, Bible Society, Foreign Missionary Society*) witnessed, as usual, an immense concourse of pious Christians, and furnished, if compared with the associations of the Roman Church, a striking illustration how much better Protestantism succeeds in organizing grand associations for religious purposes, and how much the living unity among pious Protestants is more efficient than the dead uniformity of the Roman Church. But though the present year has been signalized by great progress of religion, yet the secular government of not a few Protestant cantons remains in the hands of statesmen who are avowed atheists.

**Roman Church.**—After many fruitless attempts, the Roman Catholics have at length established, after the model of Germany, *Catholic, or Pius Associations*, and held the first General Constitutive Assembly. Twenty branch societies were reported as being in existence. In addition to the three primitive cantons, (Schwytz, Unterwalden, Uri,) and Zug, which have unwaveringly obeyed the dic-

tates of the Roman clergy, also Friburg and Valois are now completely under the sway of the Ultramontane party; but in Lucerne the party is entirely disorganized for want of leaders.

#### SCANDINAVIA.

**The Protestant Churches.**—Several meetings of the *Swedish* clergy have declared themselves in favor of an abolition of the law which sentences to perpetual banishment all persons that leave the State Church. Nevertheless, the Diet has rejected the propositions of the government for granting greater religious liberty. The House of Priests had elected for a joint committee its most intolerant members. The Houses of Nobles and Peasants expressed the same views, and only the representatives of the towns supported the liberal views of the government. In *Norway*, numerous meetings are held to discuss the question whether it is right to remain in the State Church. The prospects of Free Church organizations still look favorable. In *Denmark*, the legislature will again be troubled with the government's scheme of a new Church constitution, though the diocesan conventions of the clergy have disapproved it.

**The Roman Church.**—Little has been heard of the Roman missionaries in the northern part of *Norway*. According to their last reports, the number of their converts amounts to twenty. In *Copenhagen* the number of priests at the Roman congregation, which counts five hundred members, has been, since four years, increased from one to three, and nuns have made their appearance, to instruct female schools gratuitously.

#### HOLLAND.

**Protestantism.**—The legislature has been occupied during several months with maturing a new law on public instruction. It was the general wish of the orthodox Protestants to have the Bible introduced into primary schools as a text-book, and to make reading in the Bible a part of the daily exercises. To prevent this, the liberals (Rationalists) combined with the Roman Catholic party, and thus carried their point. The new law provides that the Bible shall not be read in public schools. Numerously signed petitions to the king not to give his sanction to the new law, had not the desired effect. The law has been promulgated and gone into operation.

#### BELGIUM.

**The Roman Church.**—At the reopening of the legislature, the Catholic party still finds itself in possession of a majority in both houses, but greatly intimidated by the multiplied outbursts of popular indignation against it. The ministry, being too moderate for the ultra Catholic faction, and too ecclesiastical for the liberals, has resigned. The contest has been greatly embittered by the publication of the works of Marnix, a Belgian Protestant of the sixteenth century, which is superintended by a committee consisting of the most eminent men of the liberal party. The preface, written by Edgar Quinet, takes the ground that it is not enough for the liberal party to oppose priestly encroachments, but that Popery itself must be exterminated; and that for this purpose all ecclesiastical and political parties which do not believe in the pope, must unite, as Popery is the only enemy which denies to every one of them the common right of existence.

#### FRANCE.

**The Roman Church.**—Louis Napoleon shows his skill as a diplomatist also in Church matters. In the case of the Bishop of Moulins he has evidently outwitted the Church. The pope has forsaken the bishop in his quarrel with the government, though the whole Ultramontane press in France sustained him. The priests suspended by the bishop have been reinstated, and to make the bishop's defeat as public as possible, all the authorities of the city, (prefect, maire, etc.,) and an immense crowd of people, have received them on their return in triumphal procession. This is not the only occasion on which the emperor has succeeded in making the Church yield to his wishes. Though he and his ministers publicly transgress the commandments of the Church, and though the official press not rarely praises what the Church condemns, whenever it is more suitable to his political schemes; yet he knows, by conferring occasionally a favor, especially a pecuniary one, on the bishops, how to keep up the belief of a great portion of the Ultramontane party, that he has favorable dispositions for the Roman Church. Among the skeptic classes of French society it must have made a singular impression when the minister of public instruction again invited this year the bishops to celebrate, with great pomp, the assumption of the Virgin Mary, "the Patron of France," and

to combine with it a general thanksgiving for the reign of the present emperor, and when, consequently, the pulpits of France resounded with the praises of the "pious" emperor. But though the Church thus compromises her character—she has, in fact, never been over-scrupulous in this respect she obviously extends her influence over—the ignorant masses. We notice especially that she has sent out during these last months an uncommonly large number of missionaries to other countries, one hundred and twenty nuns to Russia, twenty-six to Chili, etc. The new missionary society for Western Africa is erecting a missionary seminary at Lyons, receives a great many applications from priests, and will soon commence operations in the kingdom of Dahomey, whose king has applied to France for French fetiches, as his own are worn out, whereupon he has been furnished with statues of the Virgin Mary and other saints. Before them he now performs his prayers, to the great delight and hope of the Roman Church.

**Protestantism.**—Several Protestants have again been sued and sentenced for having taken part in a religious meeting of more than twenty persons. On such occasions many courts of the interior have shown a great partiality, and furnished new proofs that, in the country and in the smaller towns, the authority of the bishops makes itself more and more felt. The inner state of Protestantism is flourishing, and promising a good future. The dedication of a new Protestant church at Lyons, which seats one thousand persons, and has spacious parochial schools attached to it, has been a joyful festival for all Protestant France.

#### ITALY.

**The Roman Church.**—As Italy has no free press, it is very difficult to ascertain whether the late journey of the pope through his and the adjacent states has had the desired effect of strengthening in the people the attachment to the Roman Church. The many petitions handed to the pope in the larger cities, and even in Rome, on his return, seem, at all events, to indicate that the political creed of the people is as far as ever from conforming itself to the teachings of the Roman court. From Tuscany the conclusion of a concordat has not yet been obtained, and it does not augur well for the hopes of Rome

that, soon after the departure of the pope from the grand duchy, the Ultramontane organ in Florence, *Il Giglio di Firenze*, was suspended for one month. In Lombardy the indignation which great masses of the Roman Catholic laity feel everywhere at the new Romish dogma of the immaculate conception has burst forth on the suspension of four respected priests, for refusing belief to the popish innovation, and compelled even the Austrian government to pay the suspended priests their salaries as before. In Sardinia no concessions have as yet been made to Rome by the ministry, but fears are entertained that the rumored reconciliation of Sardinia with Austria and Naples will have a bad influence on the ecclesiastical affairs. Robberies of churches having become very frequent, the bishops have hurled the mediæval thunderbolts of Romanism, such as interdicts, upon whole congregations, and ordered, in some instances, the sale of the costly utensils of the churches. The Sardinian ministry has been induced, by these episcopal measures, to recommend to the bishops moderation, in order that the peace of the country may not be disturbed, and to interpose the veto of the state to any sale of church property without the consent of the congregation. The latter ordinance revolts again the feelings of every good Ultramontane, for the Roman Church regards as one of its most profitable doctrines, that every piece of property belongs to the Church in general, not to a particular congregation; and that, therefore, the pope, and, under him, the bishops, are the sovereign administrators of it. No wonder if *Armonia*, the principal organ of the Sardinian Catholics, calls on every priest in the kingdom to represent the new elections for the legislature as a sacred war, which may decide the fate of the Roman Church.

**Protestantism.**—A deplorable dissension has for some time existed, and recently, it seems, been widened, between the Waldenses and the Italian Evangelical Church, which latter consists entirely of former Roman Catholics. The evangelical denominations of France and England sympathize generally with the former, as the latter are suspected of entertaining the Antinomian principles of Darbyism. The great ecclesiastical assembly of Berlin has addressed to both parties a fraternal epistle, exhorting them to peace and to a harmonious prosecution of the evangelization of Italy.

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tates of the Roman clergy, also Friburg and Valois are now completely under the sway of the Ultramontane party; but in Lucerne the party is entirely disorganized for want of leaders.

#### SCANDINAVIA.

**The Protestant Churches.**—Several meetings of the Swedish clergy have declared themselves in favor of an abolition of the law which sentences to perpetual banishment all persons that leave the State Church. Nevertheless, the Diet has rejected the propositions of the government for granting greater religious liberty. The House of Priests had elected for a joint committee its most intolerant members. The Houses of Nobles and Peasants expressed the same views, and only the representatives of the towns supported the liberal views of the government. In Norway, numerous meetings are held to discuss the question whether it is right to remain in the State Church. The prospects of Free Church organizations still look favorable. In Denmark, the legislature will again be troubled with the government's scheme of a new Church constitution, though the diocesan conventions of the clergy have disapproved it.

**The Roman Church.**—Little has been heard of the Roman missionaries in the northern part of Norway. According to their last reports, the number of their converts amounts to twenty. In Copenhagen the number of priests at the Roman congregation, which counts five hundred members, has been, since four years, increased from one to three, and nuns have made their appearance, to instruct female schools gratuitously.

#### HOLLAND.

**Protestantism.**—The legislature has been occupied during several months with maturing a new law on public instruction. It was the general wish of the orthodox Protestants to have the Bible introduced into primary schools as a text-book, and to make reading in the Bible a part of the daily exercises. To prevent this, the liberals (Rationalists) combined with the Roman Catholic party, and thus carried their point. The new law provides that the Bible shall not be read in public schools. Numerous signed petitions to the king not to give his sanction to the new law, had not the desired effect. The law has been promulgated and gone into operation.

#### BELGIUM.

**The Roman Church.**—At the re-opening of the legislature, the Catholic party still finds itself in possession of a majority in both houses, but greatly intimidated by the multiplied outbursts of popular indignation against it. The ministry, being too moderate for the ultra Catholic faction, and too ecclesiastical for the liberals, has resigned. The contest has been greatly embittered by the publication of the works of Marnix, a Belgian Protestant of the sixteenth century, which is superintended by a committee consisting of the most eminent men of the liberal party. The preface, written by Edgar Quinet, takes the ground that it is not enough for the liberal party to oppose priestly encroachments, but that Popery itself must be exterminated; and that for this purpose all ecclesiastical and political parties which do not believe in the pope, must unite, as Popery is the only enemy which denies to every one of them the common right of existence.

#### FRANCE.

**The Roman Church.**—Louis Napoleon shows his skill as a diplomatist also in Church matters. In the case of the Bishop of Moulins he has evidently outwitted the Church. The pope has forsaken the bishop in his quarrel with the government, though the whole Ultramontane press in France sustained him. The priests suspended by the bishop have been reinstated, and to make the bishop's defeat as public as possible, all the authorities of the city, (prefect, maire, etc.,) and an immense crowd of people, have received them on their return in triumphal procession. This is not the only occasion on which the emperor has succeeded in making the Church yield to his wishes. Though he and his ministers publicly transgress the commandments of the Church, and though the official press not rarely praises what the Church condemns, whenever it is more suitable to his political schemes; yet he knows, by conferring occasionally a favor, especially a pecuniary one, on the bishops, how to keep up the belief of a great portion of the Ultramontane party, that he has favorable dispositions for the Roman Church. Among the skeptic classes of French society it must have made a singular impression when the minister of public instruction again invited this year the bishops to celebrate, with great pomp, the assumption of the Virgin Mary, "the Patron of France," and



to combine with it a general thanksgiving for the reign of the present emperor, and when, consequently, the pulpits of France resounded with the praises of the "pious" emperor. But though the Church thus compromises her character—she has, in fact, never been over-scrupulous in this respect she obviously extends her influence over—the ignorant masses. We notice especially that she has sent out during these last months an uncommonly large number of missionaries to other countries, one hundred and twenty nuns to Russia, twenty-six to Chili, etc. The new missionary society for Western Africa is erecting a missionary seminary at Lyons, receives a great many applications from priests, and will soon commence operations in the kingdom of Dahomey, whose king has applied to France for French fetiches, as his own are worn out, whereupon he has been furnished with statues of the Virgin Mary and other saints. Before them he now performs his prayers, to the great delight and hope of the Roman Church.

**Protestantism.**—Several Protestants have again been sued and sentenced for having taken part in a religious meeting of more than twenty persons. On such occasions many courts of the interior have shown a great partiality, and furnished new proofs that, in the country and in the smaller towns, the authority of the bishops makes itself more and more felt. The inner state of Protestantism is flourishing, and promising a good future. The dedication of a new Protestant church at Lyons, which seats one thousand persons, and has spacious parochial schools attached to it, has been a joyful festival for all Protestant France.

#### ITALY.

**The Roman Church.**—As Italy has no free press, it is very difficult to ascertain whether the late journey of the pope through his and the adjacent states has had the desired effect of strengthening in the people the attachment to the Roman Church. The many petitions handed to the pope in the larger cities, and even in Rome, on his return, seem, at all events, to indicate that the political creed of the people is as far as ever from conforming itself to the teachings of the Roman court. From Tuscany the conclusion of a concordat has not yet been obtained, and it does not augur well for the hopes of Rome

that, soon after the departure of the pope from the grand duchy, the Ultramontane organ in Florence, *Il Giglio di Firenze*, was suspended for one month. In Lombardy the indignation which great masses of the Roman Catholic laity feel everywhere at the new Romish dogma of the immaculate conception has burst forth on the suspension of four respected priests, for refusing belief to the popish innovation, and compelled even the Austrian government to pay the suspended priests their salaries as before. In Sardinia no concessions have as yet been made to Rome by the ministry, but fears are entertained that the rumored reconciliation of Sardinia with Austria and Naples will have a bad influence on the ecclesiastical affairs. Robberies of churches having become very frequent, the bishops have hurled the mediæval thunderbolts of Romanism, such as interdicts, upon whole congregations, and ordered, in some instances, the sale of the costly utensils of the churches. The Sardinian ministry has been induced, by these episcopal measures, to recommend to the bishops moderation, in order that the peace of the country may not be disturbed, and to interpose the veto of the state to any sale of church property without the consent of the congregation. The latter ordinance revolts again the feelings of every good Ultramontane, for the Roman Church regards as one of its most profitable doctrines, that every piece of property belongs to the Church in general, not to a particular congregation; and that, therefore, the pope, and, under him, the bishops, are the sovereign administrators of it. No wonder if *Armonia*, the principal organ of the Sardinian Catholics, calls on every priest in the kingdom to represent the new elections for the legislature as a sacred war, which may decide the fate of the Roman Church.

**Protestantism.**—A deplorable dissension has for some time existed, and recently, it seems, been widened, between the Waldenses and the Italian Evangelical Church, which latter consists entirely of former Roman Catholics. The evangelical denominations of France and England sympathize generally with the former, as the latter are suspected of entertaining the Antinomian principles of Darbyism. The great ecclesiastical assembly of Berlin has addressed to both parties a fraternal epistle, exhorting them to peace and to a harmonious prosecution of the evangelization of Italy.

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

**The Roman Church.**—The harmony between the government and the Roman hierarchy has not been disturbed, though in the discussions on a new law of public instruction the ministry has been opposed by an ultra-Catholic faction, on the ground that the influence conceded to the bishops on public instruction is not quite enough. Since, (in October,) a new ministry has been formed, which is considered as even more subject to clerical influences than its predecessor. The Portuguese government is praised by Roman Catholic papers for having made an agreement with the Sisters of Charity, by which a number of state institutions are intrusted to their care.

**Protestantism.**—Notwithstanding the severity employed by the Spanish government in order to suppress every germ of Protestantism, large numbers of Protestant books seem to have been circulated, especially in large cities; so, at least, *La Cruz*, a Roman paper of Seville, asserts with regard to that city, and, in concert with the Roman press in Europe in general, it hopes that a greater vigilance on the part of the government will succeed in thwarting such "infamous" attempts altogether.

## RUSSIA.

**The Greek Church.**—A Russian correspondent of the Ultramontane *Journal de Bruxelles*, maintains that the efforts of the government to re-unite the schismatic sects with the State Church have proved entirely unsuccessful, and that these sects are spreading again with unprecedented rapidity. A Bishop has been ordained for one of the sects by the Greek Church in Austria, and the total number of Greek schismatics is reported to have risen to fifteen millions. New political and social reforms of vast importance have been introduced, and fortify the hope that the reformation of the Church also will not delay much longer. Freemasonry, heretofore forbidden, has been permitted, and already established numerous lodges.

**The Roman Church.**—While the vacant Episcopal Sees in Poland have not yet all been filled, two other events have filled the Roman Catholics with great joy. The first is an act of justice, and concerns those priests who were banished at the time when the whole Greek United Church

of Russia separated itself from the pope; for refusing to concur in this separation. After an exile of about twenty years, and most cruel treatment during one part of this time, the present emperor has restored them to liberty. The other act is more than justice, if the Roman papers report the truth. According to them, the Russian government has made a contract with the Superior of the Sisters of Charity in France, to send five hundred Sisters to Russia to take charge of hospitals and other public institutions. One hundred and twenty of them are reported to have left already for the place of their destination.

## TURKEY.

**Mohammedanism.**—The rebellion in India has communicated a singularly excited spirit to the Turks, and the fanatical party is making great and effective use of it. The fear is spreading that England aims at a violent conversion of the Mohammedans, and it has been observed that fire-arms are purchased by the Mohammedans to a formerly uncommon extent. A Mussulman family, converted to Protestantism, has been exposed to persecution and compelled to flee. Violent outbreaks have occurred in several places. Nevertheless the confidence in the good intentions of the government remains unshaken.

**The Oriental Churches.**—In the efforts for re-organizing the Danubian Principalities as a Christian state, almost independent of Turkey, the Greek clergy has made itself only conspicuous by its full share in the general bribery and illegalities practiced at the late elections. In Asia Minor and other parts of Turkey, their hostility to Protestant missionaries has increased, so as to make it questionable whether Protestant missions would be as well off, if ever the Greek Church should wrench the dominion over the Turkish Empire from the Mohammedans. French papers speak highly of the development of the Armenian College in Paris, which is supported by the Turkish government. Both the Greek and Armenian clergy admit, in view of the progress of Protestantism and Romanism, the necessity of raising the standard of popular instruction, and measures have been adopted accordingly. A Jacobite bishop of Assyria has declared himself, on his return from England, of the Puseyite branch of the English Church, which is

undoubtedly the most natural ally of that portion of the Oriental Churches which opposes Evangelical Protestantism.

**The Roman Church.**—While the Association of the Holy Sepulcher for supporting the Roman missions in Palestine shows considerable progress, a new society for aiding the Roman Catholics of Turkey has been recently founded in Austria, under the patronage of many of the highest officers of the empire. This association will emulate with the French societies, and try to prevent them from monopolizing the affection of the Roman Catholic portion of the Turkish population for France. This circumstance cannot fail to make the new society a very efficient ally for the Roman Church. The dissension in the United Greek Church has not yet been terminated, though the Roman bishops report from several places that most of the refractory Greeks have yielded to the papal authority.

**Protestantism.**—The progress of the American missions among the Armenians has been steady and auspicious, and the

reports of some of the missionaries at the last meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and at the great ecclesiastical assembly of Berlin, have greatly increased the interest of both America and Europe in their arduous labors. In Bulgaria popular opinion seems to be much occupied with the expected arrival of the first two Methodist missionaries, for the Turkish correspondences of the leading European papers frequently speak of it. German Protestantism is establishing itself on a firm basis in the Danubian Principalities, where Bucharest has a Protestant school with seven teachers and two hundred and thirty scholars, and an establishment of evangelical deaconesses, to which soon a grand evangelical hospital will be added. Another hospital, under the care of evangelical deaconesses, will be established at Alexandria, in Egypt, because the European Hospital, which was hitherto supported by all European governments, has been used by the Sisters of Charity for attempts to proselyte sick Protestants.

## ART. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

### I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

- I. **THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST REVIEW**, September, 1857.—1. The Human Nature of Christ: 2. Historical Inquiry into the Waldensian Origin of the Dutch Baptists: 3. The Pantheism of Germany: 4. Is Fiction allowable in Religious Books? 5. Ecclesiastical Unity: 6. Exegesis: 7. Miller's Bearing of Geology on Natural and Revealed Religion: 8. Games and Dancing.
- II. **THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW**, October, 1857.—1. Old Orthodoxy, New Divinity, and Unitarianism: 2. The Argument from Prophecy for Christianity: 3. Popular Education: 4. Gieseler's Text-Book of Church History: 5. Inspiration: 6. Albania and its People.
- III. **THE FREE-WILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY**, October, 1857.—1. The American Experiment of Republicanism: 2. The All-Fullness of Christ: 3. The Bible as a Branch of Education in our Literary Institutions: 4. The Freedom of the Will: 5. Revivals of Religion: 6. The Impending Crisis of the South: 7. Biographical, William Burr.
- IV. **THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW**, October, 1857.—1. Charlotte Brontë and the Brontë Novels: 2. Sardinia: 3. The Royal House of St. Cyr: 4. The Dred Scott Case: 5. Elizabeth Barrett Browning: 6. Sir Robert Peel: 7. Shakespeare in Modern Thought: 8. Recent French Literature: 9. Brazil and the Brazilians.
- V. **THE CHURCH REVIEW AND ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER**, October, 1857.—1. The Apostolic Ministry in the Apostolic Position: 2. Anderson's Colonial Church History: 3. Cox's Impressions of England: 4. The Anglo-Continental Association: 5. Miss Beecher's "Common Sense applied to Religion."

VI. THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, October, 1857.—1. Jehovah Jireh: 2. The Phœnix; or, Plato on the Immortality of the Soul: 3. Unitarianism: 4. Royal Literature: 5. A Holy Minister: 6. Import of Ekklesia: 7. Dreams; their Nature and Uses.

VII. THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, November, 1857.—1. Gentile and Jew before Christ: 2. The Practical Study of the Human Soul: 3. The War against Time and Space: 4. The Doctrine of Christ, the World's Judge: 5. Intuitive Morals: 6. Climatology: 7. The Gospel according to Paul: 8. Protest in Piedmont.

VIII. THE MEROSEBURGH REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Christianity in America: 2. Historical Observations on the English Language: 3. Christian Architecture, (Second Article): 4. The first Liturgy for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Reformed Church: 5. Hugh Miller as a Geologist.

IX. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, October, 1857.—1. The Inspiration of the Scriptures; its Nature and Extent: 2. The Sacrifice of Christ: 3. Dr. Hodge on the Resurrection: 4. Notes on Scripture; the Events of the Day of Christ's Resurrection: 5. Dr. Davidson's Rationalistic Views of the Scriptures.

X. THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1857.—1. Digest of Christian Doctrine: 2. The Value of Colleges: 3. Treatment of the Awakened: 4. The New Theology: 5. Baccalaureate Address: 6. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 7. Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology: 8. German Theology.

XI. BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1857.—1. The Primacy of Peter: 2. The Church and the Constitution: 3. Aspirations of Nature: 4. C. J. Cannon's Works: 5. Le Vert's Souvenirs of Travel: 6. British Preponderance.

XII. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND AMERICAN BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, October, 1857.—1. The Homeric Question: 2. Feuerbach's Essence of Christianity: 3. An Historical Sketch of the Indo-European Languages: 4. Davus Sum, Non Œdipus: 5. German Theory of Worship: 6. Christian Missions necessary to a true Civilization: 7. Thoughts on Species.

XIII. THE NEW-ENGLANDER, November, 1857.—1. Protestantism in America: 2. Spiritualism Tested by Christianity: 3. The American Student in Germany: 4. Relations of Christianity to the Doctrine of Natural Rights: 5. Southern Writers on Slavery—Helper against Slavery—Stiles against Anti-Slavery: 6. Critical Miscellanies: 7. Buchanan on Kansas: 8. The Financial Crisis.

THE article on Spiritualism, admitting, at least for argument's sake, that there may be reality in some of the phenomena of Spiritualism, maintains that there is nothing in them requiring a Christian community to acknowledge them as revelations from invisible spirits. He argues this from the inconsistency of the alleged responses with Revelation; from the defective logic of those maintaining their origin from a spiritual source; from the historical identity of spiritualistic maneuvers with the jugglers of all antiquity; from the accordance of the style, temper, and doctrines of the responses with the mental character of the invoking circle, and from the disorganizing, enervating, demoralizing influence of spiritualism on its votaries.

He maintains the doctrine which we have often affirmed, that the whole subject ought to be avoided by the unscientific, and handed over to the best living experimentists in exact investigation. Neither lawyers, nor philologists, nor preachers, nor politicians are the proper men for that species of scrutiny.



The most trained masters of experimentation are the sole proper triers of the truth and nature of these phenomena.

A Sermon preached by Dr. E. P. HUMPHREY, in 1852, before the Old School Presbyterian Assembly, with general applause, on "*Our Theology and its Developments*," prompts the following paragraph in the "Notices:"

"A Presbyterian divine of the old school, expatiating on the expanding and aggressive power of his theology, could hardly shut out of mind the numerous and powerful denomination which espouses the doctrines of Wesley—a denomination which has spread with so wondrous rapidity over territories once loyal to the faith that is 'delivered systematically in the judgment of the Synod of Dort.' He might ignore the Lutheran Church, the English Episcopal Church, and other bodies of Christians who do not take Turretin for their text-book in theology. But how could he pass over in silence the Christian denomination which, in the space of a few years, had grown to outnumber his own, in portions of the country, too, where Presbyterianism had long enjoyed undisputed possession? Dr. Humphrey thus accounts for the growth of Methodism: 'It might be clearly shown, as I humbly conceive, that its past success is to be referred, not to those doctrines which are peculiar to itself, but to those which are common to both theologies.' Perhaps the Wesleyan would reply that the success of Dr. Humphrey's system is due likewise, not to its peculiarities, but to the elements which it has in common with other systems. But will Dr. Humphrey deny that one of the chief causes of the spread of Methodism, is the antagonism of its preachers to a notion of predestination, which served in the popular mind to cast doubt on the sincerity of God in the Gospel invitations? Is not their success very much due to the emphasis with which they have insisted on the truth of God's unwillingness that any should perish—on the truth that none who will seek God, are cut off from the hope of salvation, and that all may seek him—nay, that all are commanded and entreated to do so? The vitality of Methodism sprung from its assertion of these truths of the Gospel. So far, its power is the power of the Gospel. It has erred in denying what it could not set in harmony with them. But what shall be said of the creed which says nothing of the love and grace of God, and his desire for the salvation of impenitent men—like the creed on page seventh of the sermon before us? What shall be said of the preaching which leaves the impression that the Gospel affords no opportunity, except to a small portion of those addressed? Of such preaching, this at least may be said, that it is responsible for the astonishing progress of Methodism, and for whatever is one-sided in Methodist theology."

It would indeed be a problem for Dr. Humphrey to show how, if Methodist success arose from "doctrines held in common with other denominations," she has, during her brief life, outrun them all! How should the same amount of cause produce double or treble the amount of effect? But Methodists know full well, that while the doctrine of justification by faith (of which Calvinists have so often denied us the possession) is the common life-spring by which all evangelical denominations run, the sources of all our own extra freshness of feeling and vigor of action are not *one*, but nearly *all* the points in which we differ from Calvinism. A Methodist preacher would indeed feel his mouth shut up by the dogma, that every sin and every impenitence was predetermined by God; and that more than half, perhaps *all* his hearers were damned not only before he began his sermon, but before they were born. What expansion to a preacher's soul, to preach a free salvation offered by a sincere God, purchased by a universal atonement, unlimited by any secret exclusive decree, unobstructed by any volitional necessity of rejection—that is, disenthralled of all the hamperings of Calvinism, moderate or immoderate! What a constant warn-

ing to the Christian's persevering life, to know that apostasy is a real possibility, verified by many an actual example; not a *safe impossibility*, as old Calvinism saith; nor a *shadowy possibility that never can happen*, as young Calvinism subtly splits it. And then, while both Calvinisms dread the doctrine of *Assurance*, knowing that, joined to the doctrine of infallible *Perseverance*, it produces a bold presumption of not only *present*, but *eternal* salvation, Methodism teaches us the duty and the joy of knowing a present salvation; and knowing it each hour of life for just that hour! And, inasmuch as Calvinism must affirm of every apostate, however bright his evidence of conversion for long years, that he never had any grace, it thereby destroys to the soul all certainty of evidence until probation is closed, making the Christian life a path of mist. And as the completed perseverance is the only sure test of reality, the Calvinist lives not in a state of cherished and joyous faith, but in a position of perpetually cultivated doubt; a state of permanent, querying self-diagnosis, which can never be verified by present phenomena, but only by final result, by which he becomes like a dyspeptic studying his own stomach; not like a racer taking his health for granted, and running because he is vigorous, and vigorous because he runs. And then, to know that mighty is the fullness of the spirit, whereby we may be here on earth made triumphant over the temptations that assail us, and sanctified from the sins that would beset us, not as a metaphysical possibility never realized, but as a fact of multiplied experience—what a stimulant to earnestness of prayer, and to struggle after real, livable holiness! Thus, wherein we differ from Calvinism, therein it is we are free and fresh, happy and strong. An entire different religious temperament is created. All the difference is realized between Puritanism and Methodism. And a freer, more flexible activity is formed; a variety, that dissipates the monotonous, and breaks up the mechanical. And we must tell our New Haven friends that, while the above paragraph indicates, what we have often thought, that their divinity was framed to forestall Methodism without becoming identical with it, we are deeply certain that they have but little mended the old divinity of Calvinism. Their umbratile distinctions, by which they would attain the advantages of Wesleyan Arminianism, without plagiarizing its principles, are metaphysical chef-d'œuvres, but practical failures. There remain the contradictions, the exclusions, the unbroken fatalities of Calvinism in the creed. There remain the acridness of Puritanism in the spirit, its angularity in the form, its mechanicalness in the activity. Indeed, we have often felt in worshiping with our devout but monotonous Calvinistic friends, as if their and our whole performance were a solemn panoramic movement, of which we were a fated part; and in no instance has this sensation been felt more vividly than under the ministration of some of the chief doctors of New-Haven theology themselves.

And we join their Old School brethren in fearing that they are in a doubtful transition state; standing on unmaintainable ground; and liable to wake up, next generation, Pelagian. We Methodists know our firm position. We are marching to our second centennial, without a nail of the old Wesleyan platform changed, sprung, or rusty. But of New School Calvinism we stand in doubt what will be its future *status*, or, mayhap, its *terminus*.



## II.—Foreign Reviews.

I. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1857.—1. Spedding's Complete Edition of the Works of Bacon: 2. Napier: 3. The Mediterranean Sea: 4. Henri Martin's History of France: 5. Landed Credit: 6. Lives of the Chief Justices of England: 7. The Highlands—Men, Sheep, and Deer: 8. Michael Angelo: 9. India.

II. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCE, October, 1857.—1. Recent Literature and Art: 2. Sinai and Palestine: 3. Anglo-Continental Association: 4. Robert Browning: 5. Mr. Kingsley's Novels: 6. Pusey on the Councils.

III. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE, July, 1857.—1. Biblical Revision—The Gospel of St. John: 2. The Periods of our Lord's Life and Ministry: 3. History of the Sabbath under the Old Testament Dispensation; Its Divine Origin and Universal Obligation: 4. Some Strictures upon Stanley's Sinai and Palestine: 5. The Legend of Peter's Penitential Food: 6. Correspondence.

IV. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1857.—1. Researches in Palestine: 2. Progressive Developments of the Divine Purpose: 3. Ferns and Fern Literature: 4. Caste and Christianity: 5. French Novels and French Plays; their Influence on French Society: 6. Special Services for the People: 7. Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

V. THE LONDON (Wesleyan) QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1857.—1. The University of London: 2. Tooke's History of Prices: 3. Cotemporary French Philosophy: 4. Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition: 5. Silver from the Mine to the Mint: 6. Lives of the Chief Justices: 7. Vigil the Peruvian Canonist: 8. Lord Dufferin's Yacht Voyage to Iceland: 9. Chronicles of Geneva: 10. The Sepoy Rebellion in India.

A SUPERIOR number. The article on British India (written by Rev. William Arthur) contains many eloquent utterances in regard to the late terrible outburst of Eastern heathenism, and statesman-like suggestions for future reforms.

VI. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1857.—1. Female Dress in 1857: 2. Political Priests: 3. Quedah; or, Adventures in Malayan Waters: 4. History of Civilization in England: 5. Aurora Leigh: 6. The Four Empires: 7. The Choephores of Æschylus: 8. Representative Government—what is it good for? 9. Mommsen's Roman History: 10. The Progress of English Jurisprudence.

THE first article is an able disquisition on the extravagance of female fashion. It is very timely, very truthful, and not unlikely to produce good results. But we should have preferred to see the still greater extravagances of men, not merely in the article of dress, in which their culpability is not inferior, but in regard to indulgences degrading and unhealthful as well as expensive, from which the gentler sex is pure. The wines and liquors, the cigars and the tobaccos, the banquets and the races, will tell a terrible balance on the side of male extravagance, which need not, indeed, silence the due reproof of female fashion, but should always suggest the proper husband to it. Our discipline, before it withdrew its sharp rebuke of extravagance of apparel, was somewhat liable to the same objection of male partiality. The Westminster republishes entire Mr. Butler's graceful satire, "Nothing to Wear." It thus furnishes an answer to the keen interrogation point once put by Sidney Smith in the Edinburgh Review, "Who reads an American book?"

The late work put forth by Mr. Gliddon and the other authors of the skeptical and somewhat bitter "Types of Mankind," entitled "Indigenous Races of the Earth; or, New Chapters of Ethnological Inquiry," meets but a

cold reception from the Westminster Review. The critic at start remarks, that, "it challenges attention by its bulk, and the pretensions of its title-page, if by no other more deserving claim." He charges it with ignoring the latest researches on important points, and neglecting valuable analogies which make against the "polygentic" theory of a variety of human origins.

Professor Draper's "Human Physiology" is highly commended, while his theory of non-existence of "*vital force*" is repudiated.

"We are not altogether in accordance with him in either of these respects; because we consider that we have just as much evidence of the existence of some peculiar power or agency in the living body, which may be appropriately named '*vital force*,' as we have of heat and of electric force, or even of mechanical force; and in many of the instances in which Professor Draper clearly shows that heat or some other physical agent is the *primum mobile*, we conceive that it must become metamorphosed into vital force by acting through an organic structure, just as heat is metamorphosed into electricity when it passes through a combination of bismuth and antimony. We fully agree with him, that the so-called '*plastic power*' of a cell, or the germ of a seed, may be regarded as the manifestation of '*an antecedent physical impression*;' but until it can be shown why the same physical impression shall occasion the evolution of one cell-germ—for example—into a Zoophyte, and of another into a Bird, it seems to us that we must recognize something distinctive in the original constitution of each—call it by what name we may—which determines these differences."

It is due to Professor Draper to say, that his rejection of the doctrine of a life principle is not an indication of materialism or of skepticism in regard to the truths of the soul. We know of few scientific writers who seem to warm with a more spontaneous or genial glow when his subject brings him near the precincts of the hopes and verities of immortal life.

Upon Michelet's "History of France in the Seventeenth Century" the Westminster passes the extraordinary eulogy, that it will do more to reinstate the cause of French Protestantism in the opinion of Europe, than any book which has appeared since "Calvin's Institutes." The reason is, that while all other French historians, even Protestant ones like Guizot and Sismondi, have assumed the Catholic and Absolutist stand-point, as exemplified in the splendid rottenness of the reign of Louis XIV., Michelet has assumed the stand-point of the great Henry IV., at the time when, by Jesuit intrigue, he was assassinated. This stand-point was anti-Catholic and anti-absolute. When with Henry it expired, the freedom and true greatness of France expired also.

VII. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, October, 1857.—1. The Reform of the Army: 2. The Autobiography of a Mohammedan Gentleman: 3. Charles Waterton: 4. The Ultimate Laws of Physiology: 5. Unspiritual Religion: Professor Rogers: 6. Alexander Smith's Poetry: 7. Popular Legends and Fairy Tales: 8. Béranger: 9. The Military Revolt in India.

THE article on Unspiritual Religion aims to be a severe rebuke on Henry Rogers's Greyson Letters, which is noticed in our Book-Table. By a very unnecessary miss of the mark, the reviewer charges on the religion the unspirituality which he finds in Mr. Rogers's publication in support of the religion. The main charges against Mr. Rogers are, that his tone is undevout, sharp, and sarcastic; that he deals in logic in a matter which is truly an affair of pure and high emotion; and that his logic is very unsatisfactory in its kind. The article is so Maurician that we suspect it to be Mr. Maurice's own.

It has so much of his strained effort to state positions which cannot be stated or understood, his intense earnestness about something, nobody can exactly discover what, though he is always *about* to tell, that we find ourselves in the perusal in the usual state of entranced confusion into which the pages of that hazy gentleman are sure to magnetize us.

Mr. Rogers's book is certainly not in general devout; for it professedly treats on the *logical* difficulties which often obstruct the acceptance of the facts or the theory of Evangelical religion. It is certainly is sarcastic; for it does often find capricious crotchets conjured up by semi-skeptics, for which sarcasm is the proper correlative remedy. It is perhaps too rollicking; and yet who more needs to be caught with their own grain than the rapid, rollicking glancers-on-the-wing at truth? Now such things do not at all meet the case of our high spiritual emotionist, who cannot accept Scripture facts or orthodox doctrine; who does not know exactly what, as matter of theory, he does accept; but who simply cherishes his spiritual nature, and makes his religion consist in a high state of the pietistic instincts. To all this it would be a sufficient reply, If the book does not suit your case, then yours is the case for which the book was not written.

And so religious skepticism has at the present time got into a fit of piety. The slight exceptions only prove the rule, that this is an absolutely new phenomenon in its history. Even Herbert of Cherbury did not talk in the hyper-evangelical strain of Francis Newman. The utmost that deists and semi-deists have hitherto done, has been to construct a system of natural religion, in which they have contrived to live in a state of temperate satisfied rationality and emotional quietism. To appropriate coolly the religious nomenclature of high evangelicism; to purloin the process of repentance, conversion, and sanctification; to involve their sanctification up to the *n*th power of purified profession, and so look down upon the low level of Wesley's Christian Perfection, is the feat of modern pietistic deism. And the ladder of Christian doctrine and Scripture fact by which Puritans and Methodists toilsomely climb up to sanctification, is not only to be held as unnecessary, but it is to be unceremoniously kicked down as an absolute clog upon the ascending feet of the true spiritual emotionist. Alas! the fresh feeling of *originality* with which all this is done, proves that through ages past, if spirituality is a reality, its reality has been maintained by Scripture evangelicism alone; and that it is a novelty, never before known in all the centuries, upon semi-deistical lips. We have a right to say to this communion of pietists, Where was your Church before Francis Newman? While during past decades our Scripture evangelicism has been tugging and fighting to maintain the cause of spiritual religion, where were you and your fatherhood? Deduce your pedigree, if you can, through any other route than the church of Thomas Paine. Show us a decenter past or a modester present. Nor can we rid ourselves of a sense of its *unreality*, as well as its newness of invention. It is overdone and sounds like falsetto. It is sudden, and looks like a gotten-up fashion. It is upstart, and lacks reliability. Nor can we rid ourselves of the impression that its founders are a set of overgrown children who have said, "Let us play religion." Like inveterate Methodists, we must put them on probation. When

for some six long centuries or so their system has, like our old Christianity, shown its power of perseverance and self-sustaining warfare, we may be about to embrace it. Let us wait and see.

Hypothetical spirituality, separated from a system of facts and unsustained by substantial grounds of reason, can give no account of itself. The solemn spirituality of a Baxter, the joyous spirituality of a Fletcher, derived their growth and vigor from the truths upon which they were based. Read the Saint's Everlasting Rest, and we see a ground of the most positive kind for the author's most intense and profoundly serious spirituality; grounds of a solemn eternity, based upon the rock of Scripture truth; grounds calculated to create, if yielded to, in our own hearts, the same deep spirituality. But a spirituality justified by the simple assumption that man has spiritual susceptibilities, which, independently of all known truths, ought to feel, and spiritual faculties that ought to be cultivated, is making religion as short-lived, as local, and as precarious as the philosophical theory with which it is identified. We believe in the theory that man has moral and religious susceptibilities. Yet we believe that these, without correlate religious truth, are plants without the dew and sunshine. God by his word has furnished those truths. And it is in the marriage of religious truth with religious susceptibilities, performed by God's own Spirit, that all permanent spiritual religion consists. And truly the religion of a Baxter, embracing Christian truths, in all the awfulness of their nature, with all the earnestness of the heart, preparing the soul for its dread account, yet in deep spirit-wrought assurance of the everlasting crown, is a very different affair from the thin, vapory, half-believing, pious æstheticism of this pretentious, but most shallow Reviewer.

VIII. THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1857.—1. Cornwall: 2. Tom Brown's School-Days; Rugby Reminiscences: 3. Communication with India—Suez and Euphrates Routes: 4. Venetian Embassy at the Court of James I.: 5. Lord Dufferin's Voyage to Iceland, etc.: 6. The Parish Priest: 7. George Stephenson and Railway Locomotion: 8. Indian Mutiny.

To repel the terrible assaults of the liberal Review of Edinburgh, Southey and others combined to establish at London a rival, which should sustain high Toryism in State and Church. It was sustained with great ability, but never attained the brilliant reputation of its opponent. In antithesis to the Edinburgh origin of the Whig organ, this has received, in this country, the common, but incorrect appellation of London Quarterly Review. Very improperly, it bears that title in the American reprint.

From the first article we extract the following remarks in regard to Mr. Wesley's reformation in Cornwall:

"The conversion of the people of Cornwall from what is called in religious works their state of spiritual apathy, denied to George Fox, was reserved for a greater man, the renowned John Wesley. We have never been able to discover what particular cause directed Wesley to select this county as one of his principal fields. The first visit to Cornwall recorded in his journals took place in 1743, the latest in 1781, when he preached for the last time from his famous stand in the natural amphitheater, or 'pit,' at Gwennap, which is still the anniversary meeting-ground of his followers. 'I believe,' he says, 'two or three and twenty thousand were present. . . . I think this is my *ne plus ultra*. I shall scarce see a larger congregation till we meet in the air.'

"Very great, doubtless, was the change effected by Wesley in this western region in the space of a generation. His preachings began at a time when the outward disregard of religion was great in Cornwall as elsewhere; the churches were neglected, their services few and ill attended; the very phraseology of popular piety, so familiar to the ears of a former generation, had become nearly obsolete. 'I asked a little gentleman at St. Just,' says Wesley, 'what objection there was to Edward Greenfield?' a pious tinner, on whom the constables had seized. He said, 'Why, the man is well enough in other things, but his impudence the gentlemen cannot bear. Why, sir, he says his sins are forgiven!' In those times, and partially indeed long after, the manners and habits of the Cornish population seem (as we have partially seen) to have strongly resembled those of the Irish, without the religious fervor which characterizes the latter: There were the same clannish propensities, the same faction fights, the same riotous fairs and noisy funerals, the same disposition for turbulent encounters with the established authorities on every local occasion. Drunkenness must have been nearly universal; we can hardly realize the extent of the change throughout society, and in both sexes, which has occurred in this particular: 'A lady of a distant county,' says the gossip Polwhele, "lately observed to me that Cornwall, and the west of Cornwall particularly, are remarkable for beautiful women. The girls are very pretty, she said, up to the age of thirteen; after which their complexions are soon spoiled by brandy drinking, and their health impaired!"—Pp. 320, 321.

"Such were the materials out of which Wesley, and his associates and followers, constructed one of the most orderly and civilized societies in the world. Mr. Mann's tables, which we cite with every allowance for the imperfections ascribed to them, give 45,000 adult members of the Church of England in Cornwall against 116,000 Protestant Dissenters; but if the western and industrious part of the county were taken by itself, the proportion of the latter would be still further increased. These Dissenters are almost entirely Methodists; the old connection forming about one half. No other form of Protestant dissent has taken much root in Cornwall. The Church of England maintains her ground but hardly against the current of popular impulse; and the causes which have lately filled so large a proportion of her pulpits, in this part of England, with stanch 'ritualists' and clergy of very exalted opinions, have given her for the time even less chance of success than heretofore, notwithstanding all her awakened zeal and activity.

"Thus far, could Wesley revisit the earth, he would find that his labors had been crowned with outward success; but whether the character of the religious faith which now bears his name in these western parts would meet his entire approval, may be doubted. Fanaticism (we are anxious to use the word with as little disrespect as possible) can scarcely take strong hold of the popular mind, except in one of two shapes, either under the guise of priest-worship and ritualism which satisfy the fancy, or of that strong predestinarianism which masters and engrosses the intellect. Any revival which (like Wesley's) rests on neither of these principles, so deeply rooted in human nature, is usually, we fear, short-lived in the full extent of its fervor, although it may long survive in name. The Calvinism of Whitefield had made an impression in Cornwall, contemporaneously with Wesley's preaching, much greater than is to be measured by the number of his nominal adherents. Wesley seems to have had himself a suspicion that his own favorite Arminian tenets were scarcely strong meat enough for the eager-minded population whose spiritual hunger he had excited. 'The more I converse with the believers in Cornwall,' he says in 1762, 'the more I am convinced that they have sustained great loss for want of hearing the doctrine of Christian perfection clearly and strongly enforced.' The general tendency of Cornish popular Methodism, whatever its more orthodox teachers may maintain, we believe, notwithstanding the high moral character of the people, to be toward Antinomianism of sentiment, at least, if not of doctrine."—Pp. 321-323

The following extracts are from article sixth. They contain some important admissions of the imperative need of the Wesleyan Reformation, as well as a



complete admission that Mr. Wesley was excluded from the pulpits of the establishment while preaching the true doctrines of the English Church:

"After the accession of the House of Hanover, the general tone reached its lowest point. Ignorance and drunkenness were the predominant qualities of the working classes, licentiousness and infidelity of the higher. The jest which was circulated during the premiership of Sir Robert Walpole, that a bill was about to be introduced into Parliament, to erase 'not' from the Commandments and insert it in the Creed, was but the light expression of the genuine condition of society. Montesquieu, who came to this country in 1729, and remained here for two years, pronounced that we had no religion at all. 'If any one,' he said, 'spoke of it, everybody laughed.' Once he heard a person remark that he believed something as an *article of faith*, and the observation was received with a shout of ridicule. Low as piety had sunk in France, he had not, he tells us, enough of it himself to satisfy his countrymen, but that he found he had too much of it to suit ourselves. Our native authorities fully confirm this account. 'Though,' said Bishop Secker, in 1738, 'it is natural to think those evils the greatest which we feel ourselves, and therefore mistakes are easily made in comparing one age with another, yet in this we cannot be mistaken, that an open and professed disregard to religion is become the distinguishing character of the present age.' Bishop Gibson, in 1741, complained that the gangrene had gone on spreading till it had penetrated to the middle classes, always, as a body, the last to be infected by immoral contagion, and the first to recover from it. The entire nation seemed to him on the point of being overwhelmed by profligacy and unbelief, and he saw no hope for his evil and rebellious generation except the parochial ministers would stand between the living and the dead, and endeavor to stay the plague."—Pp. 463, 464.

"In fact, when the churches in London, at which Wesley and Whitefield had preached, were first closed against them by the incumbents, not one of the errors of Methodism had been thought of. The convulsions, and the interpretations which Wesley put upon them, his doctrines of instantaneous conversion and perfection, his practical schism while recommending a theoretical adhesion to the establishment, were all of subsequent growth. The predominant opinions proclaimed at the outset were none others than have been maintained by every man in the Church of England who ever earned the name of a divine; and though the statements might sound strange in ears habituated to the meager theology of that day, the sentiments, we suspect, would not have given offense except for the earnestness with which the general laxity was censured, and a total change of heart and conduct enforced."—P. 465.

"The change for the better which had commenced spread slowly, even if after the first impulse had spent its force it did not go back, and in 1781 Cowper could write of the clergy, without incurring rebuke or contradiction, in language like this:

"'Except a few with Eli's spirit blest  
Hophni and Phineas may describe the rest.'

Accordingly, the parish priest in the 'Village' of Crabbe, which appeared two years later, belongs to the Hophni and Phineas class. He is an eager follower of the hounds, a keen shot, a skillful and constant player of whist, or, as the poet sums up his character in a single line, he is one who gives

'To fields the morning and to feasts the night.'

"The practice continued through the early part of the present century. 'The customs of England,' wrote Southey in 1807, 'do not exclude the clergyman from any species of amusement; the popular preacher is to be seen at the theater and at the horse-race, bearing his part at the concert and at the ball, making his court to old ladies at the card-table, and to young ones at the harpsichord.'—P. 466.

"Onslow, who was Speaker of the House of Commons for thirty-three years, who had listened to the splendid declamation of Bolingbroke, to the terrible thunders of Pitt, and the silvery strains of Murray, could not, after an interval



of forty years, recall the sermon which Burnet delivered on the 'new heavens and the new earth,' without being sensibly moved by it. He describes with warmth the power of his imagination, the solemnity of his language, the earnestness of his heart, look, and voice, and asserts that he never heard a second preacher who equaled him. On another occasion, when Burnet argued against Roman Catholicism at the Temple Church, 'he depicted,' says Onslow, 'the horrors of that religion with such force of speech and action, that I have never seen an audience anywhere so much affected as we all were who were present,' and when, in the first year of the reign of James II., he again attacked Popery in a sermon at the Rolls Chapel, and having gone on till his sand-glass had run out, he held it up aloft to his hearers, and then turned it round for another hour, the congregation, as was related by Sir Joseph Jekyl, set up almost a shout for joy. His readiness was such that he once consented, at a minute's notice, to preach a consecration sermon at Bow Church, the prelate who had undertaken the task being detained by some accident, and the discourse which he pronounced was considered by Archbishop Tillotson to have been the very finest which ever fell from his lips. Apart from the purposes of the pulpit, the scheme recommended by Burnet is the best conceivable discipline for a clergyman, who should have the entire body of divinity ready at all times for instant use; be able to answer cavils, to satisfy doubts, to inform ignorance, to shame evil, and keep goodness in countenance. That the plan calls for much labor and perseverance, is an equal objection to every system by which excellence is attained. No method has yet been discovered by which indolence can be rendered learned, wise, and impressive. Those who will not submit to the previous training, should beware of rashly inflicting their crude conceptions upon their congregations. If hesitation, broken sentences, inappropriate language, and confused and inaccurate statements are ever unendurable, it must be in treating of the solemn truths of religion, where we are shocked by every circumstance which is not in keeping with the subject. A tolerable written sermon is a thousand times to be preferred to even a fluent but empty rambling extempore discourse, which, though it may impress the ignorant by its noise, cannot inform them by its sense, and is, therefore, no better than sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

"There is a middle way," says Archbishop Secker, 'used by our predecessors, of setting down the principal heads, and enlarging on them in such words as present themselves at the moment, which, perhaps, duly managed, would be the best.' The scheme, however, appears to offer no peculiar advantage. If the notes are copious, they differ little from a written sermon; if they are brief, most men could learn to dispense with them entirely. The 'middle way' was adopted, among others, by Bishop Bull. He committed the outline of his argument to paper, and, 'having secured the substance, did by practice bring himself to great readiness in expressing himself.' But how slight was the necessity for the paper at all, appeared from a circumstance which occurred when he was preaching at Bristol. As he was turning over his Bible, the loose leaves which contained his memoranda flew into the middle of his church. Many of the congregation, who were rough sailors, laughed at the accident, and prepared themselves to enjoy his perplexity. Others gathered together the leaves, and handed them up to the pulpit; but Bull, perceiving that the ill-disposed had anticipated his discomfiture, put the notes aside, conducted his sermon to a triumphant conclusion, shamed the scoffers, and greatly increased his reputation among his parishioners."—Pp. 493, 494.

"When Speaker Onslow, after the lapse of almost half a century, recorded his impression of Burnet's preaching, he said that the fervor of his action and utterance could scarcely be conceived by the new generation, because this earnestness of manner was no longer in fashion, and 'it is by the want of it,' he adds, 'as much as by anything, that religion is every day failing with us.' Burnet himself has given the rule which is the surest remedy of the defect; to have a mind penetrated through and through with a deep sense of the truth of Christianity, and filled with an ardent individual concern for its realization. Then 'the preacher will pronounce with a natural vehemence that is far more lively than all the strains that art can lead him to;' or, to quote the same thought

in the words of Professor Blunt, 'No master of declamation can inspire him with the grace that should become the pulpit, half so well as the simple consciousness that he is there to save men's souls.' This, too, will preserve him from even worse faults than want of energy; from affectation, from foppery, from theatrical tones and gestures, from frothy, flowery, and ambitious declamation, from everything, in short, which can divert the attention of his hearers from the Gospel to himself. It is with regret that we are compelled to forego the satisfaction of accompanying Professor Blunt through the remainder of the important topics he discusses, such as 'Schools,' 'Pastoral Ministrations,' and 'Pastoral Conversations;' but, since we are compelled to stop, we rejoice to conclude with recording his emphatic protest against 'the fustian which often passes for eloquence; the fruit of a miserable wish to shine; miserable in any man, most miserable in a minister of Christ in the exercise of his office.' With persons like these, pride, as Baxter forcibly puts it, goes with them into their study, chooses their subject, and more often still, their language and ornaments. When pride has made the sermon, it ascends with them into the pulpit, and regulates their delivery. The sermon ended, pride goes home with them, and makes them more eager to know whether they were admired, than whether they have turned sinners from the errors of their ways. The preachers of this degraded class are happily few in our Church, and are chiefly located in great towns, where alone the imposture can meet with the reward it seeks. To shame those who thus turn godliness into a trade, and to open the eyes of their dupes, would be almost equally hopeless; but let the young minister who is ambitious in his sermons, rather from error of judgment than corruption of mind, remember in whose name and for what purpose he speaks, and, in the language of Professor Blunt, 'he will rejoice infinitely more when he sees reason to believe that he has made one convert, than when he has made a church full of admirers.'"—Pp. 495, 496.

X. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1867.—1. Statius and his Age: 2. The Ethics of Revealed Theology: 3. Mechanics' Institutes and the Society of Arts: 4. Andrew Crosse, the Electrician: 5. Representative Reform: 6. Dr. Barth's African Discoveries: 7. The Cotton Dearth: 8. Beranger: 9. The Government of India and the Mutinies: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

THE article on the Ethics of Revealed Theology contains an able discussion of the Imprecatory Psalms. As other Psalms are the inspired expression of divine love, so these are the expressions equally inspired of divine retribution. David may be regarded here as a representative man, the impersonation of the *divine cause* on earth; the enemy is the representative of wickedness; the Psalm is but the expression of divine vengeance taking this hymnic form. It is a gratuitous error to suppose that there is no severe side even to the Christian dispensation. No specimens of more terrible eloquence can be furnished on record, than some of our Saviour's denunciations of his adversaries. These imprecations were right. They were the expositions of divine justice, of which he was the embodiment, upon sin, of which they were the incarnation. Nothing in all language is more terrible than the final sentence, "Depart, ye cursed."

We remark, that the sentiment and language of Christendom in regard to the vengeance due to the horrible massacres of men, women, and children, in India, are far stronger than any of the imprecatory Psalms. Spurgeon's Fast-day Sermon has its imprecatory passages. Are these justifiable? Only on this principle. Spurgeon herein speaks not his personal wrath, but the universal conscience for the great cause of civilization and progressive humanity in the earth. The Sepoys are specimens and part of the cause of pro-

gressive darkness and sin: The imprecations of the sermon express the present hostile relations of the former to the latter. It is the language of justice to guilt. False humanity, which weeps over the condemned criminal and unnerves the arm of law, is but weakness in complicity with wrong.

This justifies no human *revenge*, which is, in fact, a human corruption, a demoniacal imitation, or cruel exaggeration of the true sentiment of Divine justice. Whoever has an inspired commission, or a just governmental sanction for his utterances, may freely speak them in strict accordance with his warrant.

The article on the Cotton Dearth has a special interest for the Southern States of our Union, as expressive of the estimation in which their slaveholding oligarchy is held by the Christian intellect and literature of Europe, and the persevering transatlantic determination not to be dependent on that odious source for a supply of cotton.

It appears that in England the mania for building cotton manufactories has entirely outrun the demand for the fabric. The manufacturer has therefore been a loser; while the mania has so stimulated the price of cotton, as to fill the pockets of our American planters, and raise the price of Virginia negroes. No result could be so trebly repugnant to the pocket, taste, and conscience of respectable Mr. Bull. He believes, *therefore*, that cotton can, and will, and shall spring up from other soil than American slaveland.

But the cause which Mr. Bull assigns to himself for his travels in search of a new cotton land, is an economical one. He believes the American supply to be precarious. He believes, on authority of an English inquirer, that it is to be "doubted if there could be found a single man, north of Washington, who would venture to guarantee the existence of slavery for another fifty years." The "critical condition" of the Southern States produced by the slavery agitation, and "the frightful proceedings in Kansas," have destroyed the confidence of the European market in the reliability of the American supply. Thus, we may add, is the turbulence of the slave power reacting on its own head. The slave power has originated and persistently continued the "agitation;" and just as the Kansas outrages have ruined slavery in Missouri, so will the atrocities of the slave power to force slavery upon the civilized world, force the civilized world to *abate* the slave power as a nuisance.

England is determined upon ignoring the Southern cotton-field. She first turns her attention toward India. Here there are three difficulties in the way; namely, "want of irrigation, want of cheap carriage by land or water, want of a just system of land tenure." The reinstatement of the English government in India, on a new basis, after that country is reconquered, will doubtless quicken the progress of reforms in all these respects. Meantime, the dearth of cotton to supply the over-increased manufactories of Lancashire, has produced the formation of a great association, which intends to repeat the agitation and victory of the Anti-Corn-Law League in the field of the cotton question. They hope "that the day may not be far distant, when even Lowell itself may be indebted to India for cheap cotton."

The only remedy suggested for our Southern cotton-growing interest against this loss of trade, is a curious one, and one well worthy the attention of our

Southern friends. It is the calling an immense amount of free labor into the vast unoccupied cotton lands of America, and thus by immense increases and cheaper modes of production, outrivaling every other cotton-growing section of the world. Other countries can beat America in producing cotton by slave labor; no other country can rival her, if she develop her vast cotton resources by free labor. These views are expanded and explained in the following extracts.

The last report of the "Blackburn Power-loom Weavers' Association" says:

"We believe that all the trials which the cotton trade is now undergoing are entirely owing to the use of slave-grown cotton. Cheap cotton is the thread of our destiny. Slave-grown cotton cannot be so cheap as free-labor cotton. So long as we depend upon America for cotton, and neglect India, where any quantity of cheap free-labor-grown cotton can be had, we need not expect that remuneration for our labor, nor interest of capital invested, which is necessary to make both employers and employed happy."—P. 430.

On the subject of saving the Southern States by occupying their immense vacant cotton fields with free labor, the reviewer's quotation from Stirling's *Travels in the Slave States* will serve:

"Let them only give themselves fair play, by setting labor free, and they will produce cotton at such a cost, and in such abundance, as will baffle all competition. There are some 400,000,000 acres of available cotton lands in America; of these, about 28,000,000 are cultivated, the rest is a desert; there are no hands to till it. Now, by adopting free labor the South would not only double the effective force of her negro population, but would turn into her territories that stream of migration which is now enriching the prairies of the Northwest. The association with the noble free laborers of the North would be the best education for the freed negroes; and together they would build up a prosperity of which the South, as yet, has not the faintest conception. A generation would convert her vast cotton-lands from a howling wilderness into a garden-land. The slaveholders of the South, in their argument in favor of slavery derived from cotton as a power in the world, assume that slavery is indispensable to cotton culture. That this is not the case we might know from the latitude most favorable to the growth of cotton. Cotton is not a tropical production, even were it proved that negroes alone are capable of tropical labor. But we have more than a general inference to go upon; in these very Slave States, cotton is cultivated by free labor. In Texas it is raised by the free labor of Germans, and the quality is confessedly superior to that produced by slave labor. And even in Alabama, the small farmers who are too poor to own slaves, produce, with the help of their family, two, three, or five bales per annum. Therefore, even granting the importance of cotton, granting, too, the indispensableness of American cotton, it yet remains to be proved that slavery is either a necessity or a good. The onus lies clearly on the slave-owner. One thing is certain; no need of cotton or any other supposed necessary of life will ever induce the English nation to relax one tittle in its antipathy to slavery. This is with us a settled conviction, which neither gain nor argument can disturb. Cotton is great, but conscience is greater; and in any question where these two powers may come in conflict, the issue for the English mind will be nowise doubtful."—P. 436.

On the conditions above stated, Mr. Stirling (an English traveler) believes that America has from nature a monopoly of cotton production, as against any other country in the world.

In another article, however, the *British Quarterly* indicates another country as a still more dangerous rival to America than India, namely, Africa; as the following extracts show:



"In the discussion lately held at the Society of Arts, on the question, 'How can increased supplies of cotton be obtained?' the speakers chiefly insisted on the necessity of an immediate increase of the supply, and of a cheap water carriage. Now both these conditions Central Africa can fulfill. Of all species of native produce, cotton stands foremost there. In those parts of Western Africa visited by Dr. Livingstone, he remarks, 'there was cotton growing all over the country,' and that there he saw women with spindle and distaff in their hands, spinning cotton while going to the fields. In the district of the Zambesi, too, cotton, although of an inferior kind, was largely grown, while the reader has seen, in the preceding portion of this article, how widely the cultivation of cotton extends along the wild regions visited by Dr. Barth, and must have remarked how constantly the cotton field is pointed to, as the never-failing indication of a flourishing village, throughout the whole extent of his travels. What, then, should prevent our looking to these so lately discovered countries for that supply which, in each coming year, will be so imperatively demanded; to countries where the cultivation of cotton has subsisted from time immemorial, and where nature has provided means of cheap and speedy conveyance, without the cost and delay of the construction of canals or railways? countries, too, so wide and so vast as to be capable of absorbing countless millions of population, and still affording space enough for the cultivation of that raw produce which, as an able writer in the *Examiner* has lately shown, cannot be raised when the population exceeds two hundred to a square mile."—P. 414.

"The surplus population of Europe is each year pouring itself upon America, and 'Give us room that we may dwell,' is the cry, even now, in wide districts which less than fifty years ago were trackless forests. Meanwhile, there is that large negro population, brought up from infancy to the culture of cotton, chafing under the yoke of slavery, and casting many a longing look toward the land from whence their fathers were torn. Who can say, that now, when slavery appears doomed, whether 'justice to the negro' may not at length be at hand, and that, disciplined by suffering, instructed in the arts of civilized life, the long-oppressed Africans of America, like the chosen people of old, may come forth from their hard bondage in a peaceful exodus, to instruct their pagan brothers, and to found prosperous communities in the very land of their fathers?"—P. 415.

#### ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

##### I.—Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

(1.) "*Debt and Grace, as related to the Doctrine of a Future State*, by C. F. HUDSON." (12mo., pp. 472. Boston: J. P. Jewett, 1857.) The purpose of this learned and able work, though unexpressed by the title, unrevealed in the contents, and undisclosed until a large part of the volume has been read, is to sustain the doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked. It first tries the various theodices of eternal future suffering, and by a brief reply, endeavors to show that each is irreconcilable with the dictates of eternal justice, as tried by the moral sense. It next takes up the Scripture argument. Under this head it denies that the natural immortality of the soul is ever expressed or even implied in the Bible. On the contrary, life and immortality

are brought in fullness by the Redeemer, to the redeemed alone; while all others are not only naturally mortal, soul and body, at death, but, after that mortal suspension of positive existence, are raised at the final resurrection, and cast into the Lake of Fire as the second death. It denies that endless conscious suffering is ever affirmed to be the nature of future penalty; but affirms that the penalty consists in privation, and in its perpetuity consists the eternity of future punishment. The class of Scripture terms by which eternal misery is usually understood to be designated, such as *condemnation, damnation, perdition, destruction*, the writer understands to express the painful and penal consignment of the entire nature to the disorganization and complete non-existence from which it sprung.

Yet this author, if we understand him, does believe in an intermediate consciousness of being between death and the resurrection. The soul is the center of the being; the bodily death is the flinging off its external medium by which it has been drawn into sharp perception of outer existence; and then the resurrection is rather a new accretion of corporeity, which the undressed soul gathers and hardens around itself. This power is communicated by the Redeemer to the good directly, to the bad indirectly, so that the resurrection is a sort of natural process supernaturally conferred.

The writer then examines the *history* of doctrinal points involved. The tenet of the natural immortality of the soul, being not Hebraic, was introduced from the Grecian philosophies into theology. In the early ages of Christianity, the three doctrines of natural mortality and annihilation of the wicked, of restoration and of eternal torment, were held respectively by different classes of the Christian fathers. In the Western Church, under the prevalence of absolutism, the eternity of the punishment of the absolutely wicked, was still qualified by a purgatory for the imperfectly bad. Annihilationism, to a greater or less degree, has prevailed among the Jews since the Christian era. And so the unqualified doctrine of eternal suffering for all the unredeemed belongs to Protestantism only. Since the Reformation the supporters of annihilationism in the Western Church have been few and sporadic:

"The recent discussion of the subject in this country was occasioned by the publication of Six Sermons on the question: 'Are the Wicked Immortal?' by George Storrs, editor of the 'Bible Examiner.' These discourses passed through numerous editions, and, with other publications that have been issued, have begun to command general attention and no small respect for the, to many, new doctrine. The most considerable argument which has appeared in reply, is the truly eloquent discussion of Dr. Post, in the *New-Englander*, whose articles were secured with a view to their republication with a reply; a design which we hope may be soon carried into effect. A return of the like courtesy, earnestness, and appreciation of the difficulties encountered, could not fail to improve the spirit of doctrinal controversy."

We may add, that a passionless re-examination of this subject by some master mind uniting a searching scholarship with a close metaphysical acumen, will supply a demand of the times.

(2.) "*Sermons of the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon of London. Third Series.*" (12mo, pp. 448. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.)



(3.) "*Spurgeon's Fast-day Sermon.*" (12mo., pp. 43. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) Up to this time we had nothing to say of Spurgeon. And what use now for a critic to set himself up and pronounce on such a man? He must be accepted as a fixed fact. It is of no use to bring out our rule and measure, and decide that here he is too crooked or too straight, and there too short or too long. The man who, without rule or measure, or teacher or model, works out great results from what is in him, is lord of the critic, and not the critic of him. Criticism draws rules from the original; and thence proceeds to guide, correct, approve, condemn the inferior essayist. But when nature plants genius in a man, by which to work marvels, it is of no use for criticism to say that his methods are without precedent in the books, his procedures unruly, and his successes and achievements outrageous transgressions of all the fixed principles. We are to accept him, study him, explain him if we can, and use him to deduce new principles for pupils and followers to profit withal. Otherwise, he stands solitary and inexplicable, a plague to all critics, and a pleasure and a glory to all the world beside.

We think by his picture that Spurgeon is a burly-looking figure. His face on some shoulders would be thought a particle homely, if not vulgar. His style of shaping sentences is ungainly and inartistic. His paragraphs, though massy and substantial, roll no rounded music on the ear. We have not, in the productions themselves, any obvious notice that we are dwelling on syllables that have startled England with their utterance from the author's living lip. Be it so. We rejoice that the truths of the Gospel are such that their most downright expression, coming from certain souls whom God commissions and sends among us, possesses a power whose secret no literary criticism can detect. It is the simple power of the Gospel itself. And here is an assurance that the Gospel is indestructible, and instinct with a fresh and ever-springing life. Its nature is Divine and its spirit is immortal.

(4.) "*Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with Tunes for Congregational Worship.*" (8vo., pp. 368. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) We trust that this book inaugurates a new era, or rather restores an old one in our public worship. Our congregations will recover their lost right, or rather will resume an abdicated privilege and duty, namely, the presenting to God the fruit of their own lips in the form of the actual song of praise. Our choirs will still be as ever needed, to cultivate with special zeal the science of sacred music, and to lead and sustain the congregational voice. We hope the result, then, will be that the flood of sacred song, like the voice of many waters, will completely fill the holy sanctuary of God. Let our ministers now forthwith set the reform in motion. Let all in the entire church who have music in their souls, pour it forth, not doubting that they will soon be followed by more timid spirits (like ourselves) who, for good reasons, never sing in public, unless there be music enough around us to drown our voice.

The same dumb spirit which has possessed our congregations has also, we fear, silenced to a great degree the hymn of praise at the family altar. What life was once given to the scene of family devotion by the sweet spontaneous hymn, not scientific, not by book, by note, or by piano, but by a going out of

the heart in a strain in which extemporaneity and memory almost seemed to blend.

We believe there is a universal wish not to lose the music of our early history, which, wheresoever its source, seemed not to have been manufactured or made, but to have *grown* out from the religious emotions of the *great revival*. Not without some compunctions, we must confess that there has been a period of a half disposition to abandon them as ungentle, until we found that other denominations, realizing their ancient power among us, were well disposed to appropriate them. Let them do so. We think the whole Church may well, with a united voice, usher in the day when one song shall engage all nations.

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technical lady is *now* allowed to work, provided what she does is perfectly useless! She may embroider, but not make a dress! She may make flowers, but not darn a stocking! She may make music, but not coffee! She may dress dolls, but not babies! She may be an exquisite judge of viands on the table, but must carefully avoid the slightest claim to know how they are prepared! She may dismiss her cook, but she must get another, or starve! Now, with all possible delicacy, we pronounce this nonsense; nay, it is the greatest social calamity of any age; an artificial basis, contrary to the will of God, and the indications of nature, upon which it is utterly impossible to construct a healthy social order. Need we show that it reduces the mistress of a family to a state of dependence, that it compels her to acknowledge the superiority of her servants, and subjects her to numberless annoyances, and even insults, which she may not endure, and yet cannot avoid, because she is not a practical woman? Her temper is injured, her personal comforts are abridged, her family is often unhappy, her own physical energies are undeveloped, her health is impaired, her valuable time is lost, and her daughters are reared under the influence of false opinions and a pernicious example. She knows the remedy, but has neither the courage nor the skill to apply it. The real opinions of the most accomplished ladies of America, upon this subject, are quite different from what they are supposed to be. Almost to an individual they deprecate this evil, and acknowledge its source. Many a splendid woman, could she be left to her own convictions, would make any sacrifice, within the limits of reason, to be a competent practical housekeeper. We pronounce it the growing conviction of the most cultivated minds, male and female, north and south, that the true dignity of woman requires reform at precisely this point; and we hail the slightest tendency to this result with undisguised satisfaction."—Pp. 47-49.

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(11.) "*The Greyson Letters; Selections from the Correspondence of R. E. H. Greyson, Esq.* Edited by HENRY ROGERS, Author of the 'Eclipse of Faith,' 'Reason and Faith,' etc." (12mo., pp. 518. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1857.) R. E. H. Greyson is an anagram of the name of Henry Rogers, so that the ostensible editor is the real author of the book. Under this pleasant masquerade, the writer discusses grave topics in a spirited and attractive mode. Knowing that the mass of readers abjure thought, especially upon those topics that imperatively impose the need and duty of thought, he strives with no ordinary talent to wrap up momentous truths in guises that shall beguile attention, open the heart, and steal profound conclusions upon us in a merry and mischievous way. We were not predisposed to like it. We do not relish exactly to find theology mixed up with penny postage, and theodicy held in suspense, while we laugh at the author's feats of male cookery. We have unpleasant reminiscences of some disastrous failures in its pages. The passage containing the colloquy between the Deity and an Irish Adam, over the decalogue, is a piece of most repulsive irreverence. Yet we must, after all, confess that we have seldom or never gone through the discussion of problems that exhaust the nervous fluid in the operation, with more ease and freshness, or with more space in less time or clearer result, than over these profound yet lively pages. Many a reader will read, enjoy, and be instructed by them with great success, provided they get no private intelligence that the book contains metaphysics.

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(12.) "*Essays in Biography and Criticism*, by PETER BAYNE, M.A., Author of the 'Christian Life, Social and Individual,' etc. First Series." (12mo., pp. 426. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: Sheldon, Blake-

man, & Co., 1857.) Mr. Baynes has attained a high rank as a clear thinker and eloquent writer, and these essays will amply sustain his reputation. There are few productions of this class so abounding with rich Christian thought, expressed in vivid and pictured style. The subjects are attractive in themselves, and well selected to call the varied power of the writer into full and vigorous exercise. They are as follows: De Quincy, Tennyson, Mrs. Barrett Browning, Ruskin, Recent British Art, Hugh Miller, The Modern Novel, Currer Bell.

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### III.—History, Biography, and Topography.

(13.) "*America and American Methodism*, by the Rev. FREDERIC J. JOBSON: with Prefatory Letters by Rev. THOMAS B. SARGENT, D. D., of Baltimore, and Rev. JOHN HANNAH, D. D., Representative from the British Conference in the Years 1824 and 1856." (12mo., pp. 399. New-York: Virtue, Emmons, & Co., 1857.) Mr. Jobson's fine volume comes to our critical table invested with pleasant associations. The increasing interest with which the intercourse between the two great bodies of Methodism is inspired, the favorable impressions left by Dr. Hannah and Mr. Jobson upon the American mind, the cordial welcome given by the British Conference and people to the American delegation, enhanced by the noble bearing with which, in general, our delegates sustained their representative honors, have all combined to produce a sort of era in the history of our inter-denominational intercourse. Slight shades of variant feeling have disappeared. Our harmony of doctrines and oneness of heart are becoming increasingly clear. The emergence of our British brethren from past disaster into an unequivocal and cheering prosperity has delightfully synchronized with our recovery from secession and judicial pillage, to go forth into a career of unparalleled triumph. Mutual sympathies could, therefore, blend with mutual congratulations. Fraternal affections, thanksgiving to the Father of all mercies for rich blessings in the past, and prayer for the abundant multiplication of blessings in the future, have united every heart. So may it ever be. Never may religious discord or national hostility separate those who, divided by the ocean, are still, in language, race, and religion, essentially one.

The honored delegation of the British Conference arrived at New-York in April, 1856, and being received with fraternal greetings and hospitalities, spent a few days in the great commercial emporium of our nation. Thence they passed southward, making stoppages at Philadelphia and at Baltimore; at which places their recorded impressions are proof that their attention was alive with vivid interest. At our political capital they surveyed the institutes and edifices belonging to our central government. Thence crossing the Alleghanies by the steam car, they paid their respects to the Queen City, that proudly sitteth on the banks of the Ohio; and finally they made a permanent stoppage at their official destination, Indianapolis, the seat of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here Mr. Jobson makes a pause, and spreads out six rich chapters upon the history and biogra-

phy of American Methodism, and the principal characters, and the proceedings and results, of the General Conference, then in session.

Leaving Cincinnati, our friends pass down to St. Louis, enjoy the grandeur of the Mississippi, look over the prairies, meditate upon our aborigines, glance a thought toward Mormondom, and, winding around through Chicago, pass Detroit for the Falls. Departing thence through Canada to Montreal, Mr. Jobson takes his way, by Champlain, first to Boston, and then back through Albany to New-York. On the 11th of June the delegates took homeward sail, and with prosperous voyaging landed at Liverpool, having performed a travel of 11,000 miles, and made the most extensive observation, in a fine spring vacation of less than twelve weeks.

We like to travel with Mr. Jobson. He is a true and genial spirit, with a great heart vocal with eloquent utterance, rich with nature's noblest impulses, and warmed and sanctified with the unctions of our blessed Gospel. His style has power, less from a wiry outline, or a terse precision, or an intensity of phrase, than from its soft rich flow and its abounding volume. Hence his painting of natural scenery has much of the spontaneous and natural vraisemblance that charms us in Irving. His observations on men, manners, and institutions show how immensely a genial sympathy, limited by conscientious truth, aids the searching eye and the accurate judgment. Our detractors and satirists may benefit, while they provoke us, by pointing out, with a keen, unflinching finger, the faults we indulge. But our friends are our most accurate judges as well as our truest benefactors.

Mr. Jobson is no flatterer. His soul expands over our expanding greatness, and his pulse proudly feels that it beats with a fraternal blood. He is proud of America, and prouder still of American Methodism. But not a whit the less keen and jealous is his eye to detect all the symptoms, with all their aggravations, of that vital malady which threatens to make our history a failure. He sees, as the world sees, with infinite loathing, that infernal system which transforms our self-styled democracy into a lie, and one half our Methodism into a twin mendacity. He sees our national executive, created by our Southern slave-power combined with our Northern mob-power—the genuine blended image of both—aiming, by the most unscrupulous lawlessness, to attain the ends of the most unscrupulous despotism. With all the interior and home horrors of the slavery system, and the black-hearted state legislation, sanctified by the piety of an Iscariot Church, and sustained by the administration of a Lynch judiciary, the chapter of Mr. Jobson on the subject shows the most perfect acquaintance and the most perfect faithfulness of delineation. Trained in the vigorous school of English abolitionism, of which the competent masters were Watson and Wesley, he smiles with a good-natured contempt as he riddles the stereotype sophisms with which puling apologists attempt to glose over the abominations of despotism. So far from not being able to “comprehend” the subject, he comprehends it, alas! a little too well.

And the English Conference, be it here recorded, did in the most quiet, yet most unequivocal way, SHUT ITS DOOR IN THE FACE OF THE CHURCH, SOUTH. It thereby solemnly confirmed and ratified, before God and the world, the precedent set to the same effect by the Methodist Episcopal Church



of these United States. It reaffirmed the verdict that the Church, South, is a pro-slavery church. We pretend not to judge whether or not the Church, South, consists of salvable Christians; but this we say, with the profoundest sorrow, that they are inculcated in a *great MORAL HERESY*, by which they must stand out of the door of our communion, until, by penitence and purgation, they obtain a due restorement. For that blessed day of revival and reunion, let our hopes survive and our prayers devoutly ascend.

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(14.) "*The Life and Labors of the Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, LL.D.*, by Rev. HEMAN HUMPHREY, D.D." (12mo., pp. 440. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) The blessed philanthropist, Gallaudet, was one of the descendants of the Huguenots whom Louis XIV. drove from his dominion by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was born 1787, in Philadelphia, but spent his life mostly in Hartford, Connecticut. Here he was led by the case of the deaf mute Alice Cogswell to visit France, and, under the celebrated Abbé Sicard, to become accomplished in the art of teaching that class of unfortunates. Thereby an institution was founded, which became the pioneer of some twenty now existing in our country for the same benevolent object. For several years Mr. Gallaudet, aided by Leclerc, a young French mute whom he persuaded to come with him from Paris to this country, taught in this institute. His rare benevolence of heart, amiable manners, and genius for imparting instruction, produced an eminent success. Ill health compelled him at length to resign, and during an interval of leisure of some years he produced some publications characterized by his peculiar powers of communicating to the simplest mind, by means of happy illustrations, the deep truths of the soul and of God. These publications have been translated into foreign languages; and an interesting letter is given from the King of Siam, in inimitably bad English, expressing the royal wish for further books, as well as admiration for the writer. During the remainder of his life, Mr. Gallaudet filled the chaplaincy of the Insane Retreat at Hartford, where he closed his labors of love and mercy with an end of transcendent peace. Tears, such as are shed for the good alone, from those who had no voice to bless his memory, bedewed the grave of Gallaudet. By that same grateful class a monument, engraved with emblems of most appropriate beauty, was raised to his memory. And this volume from the pen of ex-President Humphrey is a suitable memorial from a class-mate of the subject. It is a most mysterious anomaly in human nature, that the records of conquerors and destroyers fasten the attention and attract the interest so much more intensely than the history of deeds of benevolence and lives of good doing. Why does the human heart so bribe men to devastate and destroy, rather than win them to succor and to bless? Were it not so, and human nature were true to itself, the biography of Gallaudet would be in every reader's hand, while the history of Napoleon would be an obscure and hateful legend.

Gallaudet spent some months in England and Scotland, during which he became acquainted with Zachary Macaulay, Chalmers, Dugald Stewart, and Dr. Thomas Brown. Macaulay (the father of the celebrated historian) was an eminent philanthropist, a leader of the great battle of English abolitionism, and

editor of the *Christian Observer*. Such a paternity, and the example and education of such a father, ought to have prevented Thomas Babington Macaulay's witless sarcasms upon "the braying of Exeter Hall." A letter of Zachary's to Gallaudet contains the following allusion to Thomas Babington :

"I thank you for your kind inquiries respecting my son. He is now in good health, and prosecuting his studies with ardor at the University of Cambridge. God has been pleased to endow him with very considerable powers of mind, and with a very strong desire for knowledge. My prayer—and, indeed, I am thankful to say, my hope is, that these may be sanctified and made subservient to his glory."—Pp. 89, 90.

The following extract from a letter by Gallaudet, written from Edinburgh, will interest our readers :

"You and I have often *Dugald-ized* together, and I dare say you will remember the enthusiasm with which I used to speak of the possibility of seeing Mr. Stewart. A curious chain of providences gave me this gratification. There is something most engaging about him. I dare not attempt to describe him, for I have but little talent at tracing stature, and form, and voice, and physiognomy. Dignity, benevolence, modesty, nay, child-like simplicity, combined with great ease and elegance, and, when I saw him, softened almost into tenderness, somewhat like melancholy; these were the traits of manner which most forcibly caught my attention, and I have often thought within myself, why cannot some, whose radical principles of thought and action, being founded on the precepts of the New Testament, should lead to the same exterior of deportment; why cannot they, too, adorn with its proper graces the religion which they profess? And I thought, how would some of our self-conceited, ostentatious, confident, domineering, conversation-engrossing, literary, scrap-puffing, oracular, dogmatical, would-be great folks, hide their diminished heads, and blush at their petty greatness, if they could see the chaste modesty of one of the greatest philosophers and scholars of Europe!

"Mr. Stewart's successor in the chair of moral philosophy is Dr. Thomas Brown. I have already heard nearly *forty* of his lectures. He differs from all his predecessors in his views of the human mind. He thinks the Scotch metaphysicians have made too many divisions of the powers and faculties of the mind, and that the French have aimed at too great simplicity. He pursues a middle course. In general, I like his nomenclature. It is somewhat new. Of the essence of the mind we know nothing. We only know its states and phenomena. These may be divided into internal and external affections. The latter includes all that we usually call sensations. It embraces those traits of mind whose existence and modifications depend on external objects. The former includes all the mental phenomena, and is divided into intellectual states of mind and emotions. Dr. Brown has a great deal of the most luxuriant imagery in his writings; almost too much for a metaphysician, and abundance of classical allusion and quotations. He is quite a young man, unmarried, and his family is made up of his mother and sisters. I have often been at his house, and lately at a conversational party, at which Professor Playfair was present, remarkable for his great plainness, simplicity, and modesty of manners; a venerable man of more than sixty years of age. I cannot finish without a moral. Before I left home, could I have wished to be transported to any part of the globe, in order to enjoy the richest treat of which my intellectual nature was susceptible, it would have been my first desire to have been placed amid the very scenes through which I have passed. And what is the result? A stronger conviction than ever that literary grandeur, 'this also is vanity;' and that he best consults his true dignity and peace, who walks humbly with his God, in whatever sphere of usefulness he may be placed; and that to be the means of saving one soul is a more desirable blessing than to hold the proudest rank among the learned, or to enjoy the highest of those delights which literature and taste claim as their own."—Pp. 46-48.

Gallaudet was not merely a philanthropist by temperament, or, forsooth, by mere organic developments. His was the benevolence of principle, of duty, of piety, of deep Christian love. His features, as exhibited in the frontispiece, seem not merely to beam with benevolence, but as if the spirit were so exuberant with joyous goodness that its overflow had to be restrained by a pressure of the lip. Yet a spirit of earnest devoutness, of solemn unworldliness, and sometimes of weeping self-humiliation, pervades his letters and the record of his private experiences.

(15.) "*The Methodist Episcopal Church and Slavery*, by DANIEL DE VINNE, of the New-York East Conference." (12mo., pp. 96. New-York: Francis Hart, 1857.) Some years since Mr. De Vinne published in the *Zion's Herald*, a series of letters on the subject of Slavery and the Church, which, from the peculiar ground they covered, the masterly knowledge of the subject they exhibited, and the forcible simplicity of their style, attracted general attention, and by general consent obtained a publication in pamphlet form. The interest that produced the edition, in no long time exhausted it; and for years it was out of print, forgotten apparently by its author, but not so by some of its ancient readers. The present re-publication is its resurrection at the instance of the friends of freedom, in an enlarged and perhaps improved form; and we cannot doubt that it will find a far more numerous audience and achieve a thrice reduplicated amount of good. The changed reception it now meets is a triumph, and a proof how great the revolution in the public mind. It has not now the difficult task of creating a non-existent interest, and compelling, by the power of its utterance, a reluctant attention. It finds inquiry all alert, and the public ear calling for the details of truth and the trains of argument it once repelled.

Mr. De Vinne is familiar, by Southern residence and close observation, with all the details of slavery as it is; and speaks with all the authority of absolute accuracy and unimpeachable veracity. He has maintained his principles with unswerving rectitude for long past years amid no ordinary ordeals, and may therefore be considered an established exponent. He has studied the subject in every phase it presents, and doubtless presents for the side he sustains one of the best possible arguments. His work has attracted extensive attention without the limits of our own denomination. The conclusions he maintains are generally not within the prescribed limits of our Quarterly, and we do not express any opinion of their soundness.

We could have wished that the historical element had been larger in proportion to the argumentation. A history proper, written as a matter of standing authority, and without any eye to conclusions, is yet a desideratum. We are not certain how nearly Dr. Elliott's *History of the Secession*, had it been less voluminous, would have met the demand. Rev. Lucius Matlack's "*Methodism and Slavery*," though written from a one-sided stand-point, has more consecutive historical information—stated with more geniality and candor than many would expect—than any book we can name.

The history of the class to which the author belongs is an exemplification of true loyalty to Methodism. It is loyalty not to the accidents nor the inci-

dents, not to the self-appointed expositors nor the temporary administrators of Methodism, but to essential, central Methodism itself. Whenever all these subordinates vary from that essential, such men struggle in the true spirit of a real love—stern love, rebuking love, it may be, but still enduring, suffering, laboring, Christ-like love—to restore the whole to their proper position and harmony. No prospect on earth is more immediately dear to the eye of their faith than the Church of their love marching up with unbroken unity, loyal subordination, and harmonizing step, to that purity from great acknowledged sin, that elevation above all low unholy compromises, by which she may look serenely down upon a world acknowledging her sanctified fitness for the indwelling presence of God.

(16.) "*Lady Huntingdon Portrayed: Including brief Sketches of some of her Friends and Co-laborers. By the Author of 'The Missionary Teacher,' etc.*" (12mo., pp. 319. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) Lady Selina Shirley, by marriage Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, was born August 24, 1707. She was endowed with a noble person, courtly manners, unusual executive talent, and a rare power of influencing the circle in which she moved. Deep impressions of the truth of eternity led her to seek the favor of God, and when Whitefield and Wesley appeared, they were as messengers of God to her glad soul. The character of her religion, as well as of her mind, was too decided to allow it to shrink from prominence; on the contrary, her high soul compassionated the fearful condition of the wealthy and noble, and she boldly sought to spread the influences of Methodism, not only through the highest aristocracy of the realm, but to the royal family itself. She persuaded the highest ladies of the court to listen to the preaching of these great evangelists, with an influence more or less powerful upon some, and a saving change in others. Among the former were the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough and the Duchess of Buckingham; among the latter the Duchess of the celebrated Chesterfield, Lady Ann Frankland, and Lady Fanny Shirley, the theme of the admiring muse of Pope. She numbered among her friends some of the most venerated personages of England's history: Watts, Doddridge, Romaine, Venn, and the sainted Fletcher. As the work of conversion prospered, and the numbers of those who were called to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ were multiplied, informal meetings for planning and maintaining a network of itinerant preaching constituted a "conference;" and their formation with their churches into an organization formed "*Lady Huntingdon's Connection.*" To fit young men for this arduous work, a "*School of the Prophets*" was established under her patronage, at Trevecca, in Wales, over which Fletcher presided.

When Mr. Wesley and his conference of preachers came to the conclusion that they had "leaned too much to Calvinism," Lady Huntingdon, who had imbibed from Whitefield the Calvinism by him imported from New-England, received the impression, erroneous but inveterate, that Mr. Wesley denied the doctrine of justification by faith to the exclusion of the saving merit of works. Her relative, Rev. Walter Shirley, with the small remnant of Calvinistic preachers, called for recantation. A controversy arose, in which

the virulent Toplady was chief champion of Calvinism, and love and truth, on the Arminian side, found their model in Fletcher. Each party went on, in spite of the break, in spreading the essential truths of the Gospel maintained by both. Lady Huntingdon and Mr. Wesley never again met on earth. But when, near the close of her own career, she read the dying ascription made by Mr. Wesley of his salvation to the blood of the Lamb, and when she learned from Wesley's fellow-traveler, Bradford, that such had ever been the tenor of his preaching, her soul melted, and bursting into tears, she bewailed that the unhappy separation had ever taken place. She survived him but a few months, and closed a life of holy usefulness seldom equaled in female history, with "nothing but victory" and "joy unspeakable" on her lips.

Lady Huntingdon has as yet had little or no place on the copious roll of our Arminian Methodist saintship. Her Connection has had no existence on this side of the Atlantic. Her separation from Mr. Wesley has drifted her beyond the full sphere of our sympathies. We thank the author, therefore, of this beautiful portraiture of her noble character, for recalling her into the circle of our denominational history. He has clothed the narrative with no ordinary grace of style; and though the book be anonymous, we trust no confidence is broken by our saying that the writer is Professor Z. A. Mudge. We recommend the work to the ladies of our Church, as well calculated to aid in adorning the character with the highest Christian graces.

(17.) "*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of H. B. M. in the Years 1849-1855. By HENRY BARTH, Ph. D., D. C. L., Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Asiatic Societies, etc., etc. In three volumes." (8vo., vols. i, ii, pp. 656, 709. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Christian enterprise is fast accomplishing in our day the ancient prophecy that "the vail shall be taken away from the face of all nations." Africa, although one of the earliest opened and marginally occupied of all the sister continents, has been longest overshadowed with the gloomy shades of obscurity, mystery, and myth. Problems stated by Herodotus as matter of doubt, have waited patiently through more than two thousand years, till the advent of our nineteenth century, for solution. In our day the scroll of African discovery can display its heroes and martyrs. From the time of Bruce, in 1769, the explorations of Mungo Park, Burckhardt, Denham and Clapperton, Major Laing, the first visitor of Timbuctoo, the Landers, and others, have in succession spread the area of our geographical knowledge into the central interior.

The author of these magnificent volumes, laid by the Harpers upon our critical table, is an eminent German professor, the sole survivor of a trio of explorers sent forth under the auspices of the British government. Genius is a disease that assumes, in its various possessors, a variety of phases; in Dr. Barth, the complaint is decidedly geographical. His early years had been much spent in exploring the northern regions of the African continent, before he assumed the geographical chair at Berlin. When he learned that the way



was open for a British commission, the impulses of his soul prompted him to share in the expedition, which he was alone destined to complete, and of which this elaborate and most detailed report is the invaluable monument.

On the 24th of March, 1850, Dr. Barth and company left Tripoli for Central Africa, intending to penetrate, by a southeastern course, to the Indian Ocean. He visited the great city of Kano, "the London of Sudan," and thence explored the celebrated Lake Tschad. The death of his German coadjutor induced him to forego the project of persevering to the Indian Ocean, and he turned a western course for the city of Timbuctoo.

In these regions of Central Africa our author found populous cities, a semi-civilized people, an exuberant richness of soil, magnificent lakes, rivers, and streams, "park-like scenery," and all the advantages for opening, what was the real object of the British share in the enterprise, a lucrative commerce. The slave-trade, with its accompanying catalogue of atrocities, may be supplanted by a legitimate and humanizing traffic. Paganism and Mohammedanism may give way to Christianity. The immeasurable field for the production of cotton may enable Africa to emancipate and perhaps recall her tawny sons from America. The public will look with much expectation for the appearance of the remaining volume from the Harpers' press.

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(18.) "*Illinois as it is; its History, Geography, Statistics, Constitution, Laws, Government, Finances, Climate, Soil, Plants, Animals, State of Health, Prairies, Agriculture, Cattle-breeding, Orchardng, Cultivation of the Grape, Timber Growing, Market prices, Lands and Land prices, Geology, Mining, Commerce, Banks, Railroads, Public Institutions, Newspapers, etc., etc.* By FREDERIC GERHARD. With a Prairie and Wood Map, a Geological and other Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 451. Chicago: Keen & Lee; New-York: Fowler & Wells, 1857.) The title-page of this book eminently possesses a merit which should in some degree belong to all title-pages; namely, it is a clear exponent of the character of the book. Both author and publisher have successfully fulfilled the promises it offers. It is a model book for the inquiring emigrant.

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(19.) "*Life in the Itinerancy, in its Relations to the Circuit and Station, and to the Minister's Home and Family.* By Rev. L. D. DAVIS, of the Oneida Conference." (12mo., pp. 338. New-York: Carlton and Porter, 1857.) The Itinerancy as it is—not its sunny side nor its shady side specially—is the subject pictured in this volume. It is elementarily fact; the grouping and the drapery alone are furnished from the writer's conception. He has been considered as one of the most successful essayists in this new literature. Those who commence his narrative are apt, like his hero, to persevere steadfastly to the end. If truth in an imaginative garb be allowedly contemplated, it can be nowhere more innocently studied, perhaps, than in these pages.

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(20.) "*Life of James Montgomery*, by HELEN C. KNIGHT." (12mo., pp. 416. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1857.) We regret that our space does not permit us to give a full critique upon this



beautiful volume. Montgomery's history has its interest and its lesson. His name stands amid high associations, not as peer to the highest, but as impregnate with an interest of its own. His poetry has stood the test of searching criticism, and he has left some strains which will not soon be allowed to die in silence. Mrs. Knight has performed her task in a genial spirit and a graceful style.

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#### IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(21.) "*The Impending Crisis of the South, how to meet it*, by HINTON ROWAN HELPER, of North Carolina." (8vo., pp. 420. New-York: Burdick Brothers, 8 Spruce-street, 1857.) Mr. Helper's book has a few leading points of peculiarity, among which we specify,

1. Its intense Southern sectional feeling. In temperament, in local attachment, in hereditary memories and proud associations, he is a true-born Southron. The South has had loyal sons, but none more loyal; she has driven them by thousands into reluctant expatriation, but none more sadly *exiled* than Helper. No banishment and no threats dampen one spark of his undying love for his dear sunny South. When he beholds her desolated and barren-struck soil, her sons crushed in dumb silence under the pressure of an iron caste, her trade and her industry fettered to the triumphal car of the commercial and industrial North, her ports unvisited and undocked, her cities dwindling to villages and hamlets, her institutions of science and literature stunted and brain-bound, her morals polluted, her civilization rapidly retrograding into a turbulent barbarism, her name a *synonym* for *infamy* throughout the civilized world, all the impulses of a true-hearted son swell within his soul to rescue the land he loves from ruin and shame. Mr. Helper did not come to the North because he loved the North, any more than Kossuth came to America because he loved America. The noble Magyar came here because he loved sweet Hungary and hated the Austrian; the Southron is here because he loves dear Carolina and hates the oligarch. There are noble bursts of freedom on his pages; there are eloquent denunciations of despotism; but the most deeply burning with insuppressible fires of all Mr. Helper's paragraphs, are those that paint the utter subjection of his dearly beloved Sunnyland beneath the yard-stick of the Northern money-power.

2. Mr. Helper sees the great truth to which the Southern eye is blind, that it is the slave system which victimizes and sacrifices Southern prosperity on the altar of the Northern Mammon. While the North throws open her ports, her cities, and her wide-spread acres to a free immigration; while she scatters intelligence and confers the largest freedom on the great productive masses, and pours thoughtful material energy over all her surface, the South is employing all her genius and power to construct a system by which exclusion is passed upon the entrance of the industrial millions from abroad; by which she declares a most ferocious and crushing legislative war upon her own sole industrial caste; by which she separates intellect from labor, and crushes life out of industry; by which all energy is palsied and all prosperity annihilated.

Mr. Helper sees that those grand opium dreams cherished by the South, and so voluminously vaped forth by Southern orators at great conventions, are composed of the very thinnest of bombast; and that they ignore the true cause of all ruin—*slavery*, and the true restorer of all prosperity—*freedom*. Pour freedom through your masses, O statesmen of the South, and you pour prosperity over your soil.

3. Mr. Helper has a strong class feeling. He belongs to the body of free-born non-slaveholders of the South. He is against the chivalry for the YEOMANRY. He goes for the Franklin against the Feudalist. And herein Mr. Helper, though sectionally a Southron, is morally a Northman. His whole class is in interest identical with us. The freeborn slaveless Saxon is the North running southward, even to the Gulf. It is the North in the South. This is the true "UNION."

When the great mass of our northern voters go to the polls with an overwhelming suffrage in their free-laboring hands, it is astonishing that they give their votes for the crushing feudalism, "booted and spurred," and not for their oppressed fellow yeoman. We should hardly suppose that our very Irishry could be led up in solid platoons to vote for the exclusion of their own free labor from the most luxuriant soil in the bosom of our continent. Alas, poor Celt! in Ireland he was victimized by the English landlord; in New-York by the American slaveholder. Land-holding oppression banished him from Ireland; slave-holding seduction will exclude him, by his own vote, from the fairest part of America. Because he hates a negro, he is giving to the negro the rich exuberance of our virgin American soil. Should he go to the West to claim a field for toil, he may find that his own vote has covered it with negro-ism. Such is the result of surrendering the safe keeping of his interests, spiritual and secular, to the faithless hands of trustees like Orestes A. Brownson and John Hughes.

4. In giving his plan of emancipation, Mr. Helper, perhaps, unfolds the magnificent impracticability of a Southern imagination. His plan, in short, is proscription of the chivalry by the yeomanry. Exclusion from office, from business custom, and even social intercourse, and taxation of slave property to the destruction point, are its main articles. This is to be done by a thorough organization of the non-slaveholders. This is certainly a very pretty string of bells for this formidable grimalkin, and the non-slaveholding unity is the proper agent to circle the sonorous collar around the feline neck; but *the how*, Mr. Helper does not clearly explain. Oligarchy is now as absolute in Southronism as in Austria. Mr. Helper is an exile for suggesting the project. He proposes a convention "some time during this year, next, or the year following," in the Southern States; but we fear that it will be a permanent "next year." Such a convention, triumphantly held in the bosom of the South, would be the first sensible convention the South has for some years seen. It would be a symptom, if not an inauguration of a policy of future freedom, such as the poor South has never beheld. But at the present time the non-slaveholders, great as are their numbers, their interests, and their wrongs, give no signs of independent life. They are an immense majority over their oppressors, perhaps six to one; their disfranchisement, though

complete, is founded upon no right and no real power; its overthrow can be accomplished without violence or revolution; so easily, indeed, that Dr. William Smith declares that the Methodists alone could at any time, by joining, awakening, and leading the non-slaveholders in a movement, entirely abolish slavery throughout the South. Yet, to all appearance, the subjection is complete and deepening. The slaveless white is a superfluity; he is sinking into deeper ignorance, thriftlessness, and degradation; and he is the idiotic tool and the mob material ready to operate, to defend, and complete the supremacy of the system which is fast placing him beneath the condition of genuine slavery itself. Such is the melancholy and pitiable, though silent appeal which the free laborer of the South presents for the sympathies and succor of his brethren of the North. But just because silent it is unheard and unfelt. And though Mr. Helper's book itself is by many considered a sign that the slaveless South is waking, all the facts and accompaniments rather seem to show that it is sleeping the sleep that knows no waking, unless an alarm from the free North arouses its conscious life. Let the reviving project of the slave-trade be accomplished, and its doom is sealed. The entire South will be Africanized, the white non-slaveholder will depart, and no distant age will present a complete negroland upon the entire surface of her Atlantic States.

5. For his love to the South Mr. Helper is an exile from her bosom. He is to be crushed because he dares to speak for freedom and for right. *That is DESPOTISM!* It is the pure genuine article. Within twenty-five years past a strange, exotic, but veritable DESPOTISM has arisen on our American soil, which violates and crushes to the earth the blood-bought rights of American freemen. Freedom of discussion, the boast and glory of our American birth, is as truly suppressed and murdered, south of our Potomac, as upon the banks of the Douro, the Tiber, or the Neva. Despotism is as rampant and as ferocious in Virginia or Carolina, as in Austria. Slavery is as true a suppressor of free speech as Popery. Lynch law is just as unsparing as the Spanish inquisition. And, shame to say, this crushing despotism is upheld by Northern statesmen, sanctified by the defenses, direct or indirect, of Northern ministers, and created and perpetuated by the blind suffrage of Northern majorities.

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(22.) "*The Progress of Slavery in the United States*, by GEORGE M. WESTON." (12mo., pp. 201. Washington, D. C.: Published for the Author, 1857.) Few publications called forth by the anti-slavery controversy can compare in excellence with this volume of Mr. Weston's. Speaking from the stand-point of a right-minded freeman, it develops, without the slightest temper, with a complete knowledge of the subject, and in a masterly style, the character, plans, and prospects of the slave-power, with a sagacious measurement of the means and instrumentalities it adopts, the impediments and dangers in its way, the true modes of defeating its projects, and the prospects of the final issue.

Mr. Weston shows that slavery is but the pretext, and not the real motive of Southern agitation. The real basis of all this Southern movement is an intense political desire in the South for sectional supremacy. It first arose at

the origin of nullification, before the anti-slavery controversy had become national. The slavery interest was seized upon by the heads of the movement as the best point of concentration by which the entire South could be seduced or driven into a unit. To the extreme point short of disunion they would never hesitate to go, and would be undividedly sustained; but when that fatal revolution is really commenced, the slaveholders, and the great slaveholders especially, would be the most earnest opponents of the disruption. All history shows, and the nature of the case demonstrates, that a slaveholding population is as timorous and as quietistic as it is weak; as inert as regards all bold movement as it is unfitted for any energetic action. Where, indeed, as in the present case, a factitious stimulus excites the feudal class to active concentrated comploment, it will drive with buoyant desperation to the extremest point of venture. But let the great slaveholding body once become conscious that a hostile separation or an open convulsion between the two sections is on foot, and the sensibility to the danger of the most insecure of all property is roused. The palpable approaching destruction of all their interests would reveal the natural timidity of their class. The most reckless champions of slavery are not the eminent slaveholders, but the politicians; and the politicians will be allowed to play their unmolested game until signs appear that the united North is resolved to stand a rupture. Hence the Union has never been in the slightest real danger. The slave property owners have never turned coward, because the submissionism of the northern mercantiles has always proved the first craven. Castle Garden union meetings and Wall-street contributions to pro-slavery triumphs have precipitately anticipated the slaveholder's submission, and done their best to deposit all Northern interest in the hands of their Southern masters.

Mr. Weston holds that the annexation of Cuba, while its advocacy by the Southern slaveholders evinces an extraordinary preference of political supremacy over economical interests, would prove not only the destruction of the sugar interest of Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, but would be a great detriment to the existence of the slave power. Cuba is the most inviting soil and climate in the world for free labor. Its slaveholders have no fanatical attachment to the system akin to the rabidness of our South. Let but the genial clime and the fertile soil pregnant with a triple annual harvest be open and known, and it would soon be flooded and freed by a deluge of slaveless Saxondom. The result would be emancipation, and the addition of an indefinite number of free states to the Union.

The extension of slavery is the perpetuation of slavery. It increases the number of slave states, and so enlarges the slave power. It inaugurates a slave-breeding system, by which, singularly though truly, actual propagation is largely increased. Yet when the area is a continent, and there exists the competition in time against free extension, the colored population is at present not sufficient for the extending demand. The re-opening of the slave-trade is therefore the only resource of the slave power. Without that, no exertion of our pro-slavery administration is able to prevent a cordon of free states from Kansas southward to hem in slavery, so that in due season it shall, "like the scorpion girt with fire," die by its own spontaneity. It is very probable that

the great Armageddon, then, is yet to come, the battle over the revival of the slave-trade. Unless that project can be accomplished in some underhand mode, its open attainment will become the great battle strife.

Mr. Weston makes evident the fact that, inasmuch as the superior profitability of free over slave labor will stand in a state of continuous demonstration, too palpable to remain ignored, the disappearance of slavery before the face of freedom, with proper effort, is as necessary and resistless as it is desirable. Strong, indeed, is the obligation on the friends of freedom to disseminate the truth; and all the energy and heroism of religion and philanthropy are in demand, with the full assurance that, however formidably the face of the slave power now frowns and menaces, actual weakness pervades its body, and dissolution is within its substance, already beginning to sever its particles and complete its disintegration.

Such views, most ably and clearly presented by Mr. Weston, cheer us as a Church to preserve our unity of body and of action; and to stand up, in every section, in intrepid accordance with the noblest facts of our history. The friends of righteousness on the margin of slave territory had never so strong omens of encouragement for preserving an erect bearing and a fearless tone, in the firm and increasing support they may expect from the great body of the Church and the free North, and in the brightening tokens that the day of redemption is not distant.

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#### V.—Educational.

(23.) "*The Illustrated Family Gymnasium*; containing the most improved Methods of applying Gymnastic, Kinesepathic, and Vocal Exercises to the Development of the Bodily Organs, the Invigoration of the Functions, the Preservation of their Health, and the Cure of Diseases and Deformities. With numerous Illustrations, by R. T. TRALL, M.D." (12mo., pp. 216. New-York: Fowler & Wells, 1857.) It is some compensation for the materialistic tendencies of the phrenological theory that it produces an increased attention to physiological science, and a practical application of elaborate thought to the business of physical education. The increase of our population compels a large and enlarging class to devote themselves to sedentary and intellectual life, while among all classes there is a sad tendency to neglect the fundamental laws of our corporeal nature. There is great reason to fear that we are becoming an *unhealthy nation*; and for an immense mass of us the truest remedy is to be found in a better understanding, not only of the laws of our animal nature, but of the modes within our reach of training it to health and vigor.

This desideratum Dr. Trall has furnished in this beautiful little volume. By description and superabundant pictorial illustrations he has potentially made *every man his own gymnast*. Let the student, the sedentary, and the seclude, here learn the art of securing full play to the system, and full development of his entire corporeal soul-organ.

Fowler & Wells have given the work a very attractive external furnish.

(24.) "*The Hand-Book of Household Science. A Popular Account of Heat, Light, Air, Aliment, and Cleansing, in their Scientific Principles and Domestic Applications. With numerous Diagrams.* By EDWARD L. YOUMANS, Author of the 'Class-book of Chemistry,' 'Chemical Atlas,' and 'Chart of Alcohol and the Constitution of Man.'" (12mo., pp. 447. New-York: Appleton & Co., 1857.) Professor Youmans has a special genius for inventing educational means and methods, and for bringing science into successful contact with the practical operations of life. The book before us is a very successful effort in the latter of these two departments. It has the systematic method and *lucidus ordo* of science, with much of the freedom and ease of popular discourse. There is much which any can understand and all should know. It will be a valuable manual for the academic teacher, and may well be recommended to general popular perusal, as containing the last results of research contributed to the benefit of life.

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#### VI.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(25.) "*The Poets of the Nineteenth Century.* Selected and edited by the Rev. ARIS WILMOTT, Incumbent of Bearwood. With English and American Additions, arranged by EVERT A. DUYKINCK, editor of the *Cyclopedia of American Literature*. Illustrated with one hundred and thirty-two engravings, drawn by eminent artists." (4to., pp. 616. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) A gorgeous annual! The finest and latest gems of literature in a congenial casket. Munificent art has done her fitting homage to genius, to furnish an appropriate tribute to friendship.

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#### VII.—*Miscellaneous.*

The following works our space does not allow us to give a full notice:

(26.) "*Life Studies; or, How to Live.* By Rev. JOHN BAILLIE." (18mo., pp. 108. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.)

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(27.) "*Lectures on Temperance,* by ELIPHALET NOTT, D.D., President of Union College. With an Introduction by TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D." (12mo., pp. 341. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.)

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(28.) "*The Northwest Coast; or, Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory.* By JAMES G. SWAN. With numerous Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 435. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.)

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(29.) "*Hand-Books of Improvement,* comprising *How to Write, How to Behave, How to Talk, How to do Business.* Complete in one volume." (12mo. New-York: Fowler & Wells, 1857.)



Of the following, a notice may be expected in our next number :

(30.) "*The Convert; or, Leaves from my Experience.* By O. A. BROWN-SON." (12mo., pp. 450. New-York: Edward Dunigan & Brother, 1857.)

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(31.) "*Aspirations of Nature.* By J. T. HECKER, author of 'Questions of the Soul.'" (12mo., pp. 360. New-York: James B. Kirker, 371 Broadway, 1857.)

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(32.) "*Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.* By ELEAZAR LORD." (12mo., pp. 312. New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1857.)

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### VIII.—Periodicals.

(33.) "*The Phonetic Journal*, (weekly,) devoted to the Propagation of Phonetic Reading, Writing, and Printing. By ISAAC PITMAN, Bath, England." We are in the regular receipt of this, the organ of the phonetic reforms of Pitman, the ingenious inventor of Phonography and Phonotypy. We have seen articles written in our standard periodicals upon phonography, which showed that the writers did not know what phonography was, nor its differences from phonotypy. Phonography is the most perfect of short-hand; expandible enough to be safely used for a correspondence or a legal document; contractible enough to keep pace with the most rapid speaker. Phonotypy is a reformed orthography, by which there becomes but one possible mode of spelling a word. All the difficulty of learning our written language by foreigners or children, and all danger of misspelling, are by this method ended. Phonography will in time supersede all other stenography, and phonotypy ought to supersede all other orthography.

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(34.) "*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review.* Conducted by FREEMAN HUNT. Published Monthly. Vol. 37, No. 5, November, 1857." (New-York: Freeman Hunt, No. 142 Fulton-street.) Mr. Hunt's Magazine is a permanent as well as a peculiar institution. Its attainment to a thirty-seventh volume proves that there is a demand for it, and that it very ably supplies the demand. It abounds with mercantile essays and articles of the highest value.

## ART. XI.—LITERARY ITEMS.

OF Mr. Rigg's work on Modern Anglican Theology, the Clerical Journal (Eng.) says: "Perhaps nowhere else can be found more discriminating estimates of the characters and writings of Hare, Maurice, Kingsley, and Jowett, both in relation to general theology and to the Church of England." The British Standard says: "It may be doubted whether any other man in Great Britain has so complete and strong a grasp of the entire theme." Our American Bibliotheca Sacra calls it "A small book, of greater pretense than performance."

T. & J. Clark of Edinburgh are publishing a translation of John Albert Bengel's valuable *Gnomon of the New Testament*.

*Essays on the Accordance of Christianity with the Nature of Man*, by Edward Fry, are noticed by critics with high commendation.

An experiment has been completed to test the validity of the methods of deciphering Assyrian inscriptions, by placing in the hands of four independent translators a single document, namely, the inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., King of Assyria, B. C. 1150. The translations have been published, and are considered as establishing in the main the valuation of the character of these inscriptions, and the scientific character of the method. The general sense of the translations is similar, with plentiful and essential variation in the details. Rawlinson's translation is as follows: "Bit-Khamri, the temple of my lord Vul, which Shansi-Vul, high-priest of Ashur, son of Ismi-Dagan, high-priest of Ashur, had founded, became ruined. I leveled its site, and from its foundation to its roofs I built it up of brick; I enlarged it beyond its former state, and I adorned it. Inside of it I sacrificed precious victims to my lord Vul."

*The Prophecies relating to Nineveh and the Assyrians*. Translated from the Hebrew, with Historical Introduction and Notes, exhibiting the principal Results of the recent Discoveries. By George Vance Smith, B. A.

*The Book of Jonah*, illustrated by Discoveries at Nineveh. By Rev. P. S. Desprez, B. D. London, 1857.

These two works are considered as interesting, but somewhat premature in the attempt to make abundant and

safe illustrative use of the recent developments.

Chevalier Bunsen is engaged in a new translation of the Bible into German. The work will consist of seven volumes. It will be divided into three sections, and the last section will be entitled, Bible and World History; or, the Life of Jesus, and the Everlasting Kingdom of God.

*The Lectures of Sir William Hamilton*, embracing his Metaphysical and Logical Courses, with Notes from the original materials, and appendix containing the author's latest development of his Logical Theory, is in process of publication by Messrs. Blackwood of Edinburgh. They are to be published in four octavo volumes, under the editorial care of Rev. H. L. Mansel, Oxford, and John Veitch, Edinburgh.

The article in the London Quarterly on Philosophy Old and New, which was republished in the Eclectic of this country, was written, as we learn, by Richard Watson Dixon, son of the late delegate to our General Conference, and late a graduate of Oxford.

Herodotus, a new version, from the text of Gaisford, with Illustrative Appendices, founded upon recent Historical and Ethnographical discoveries, obtained in the progress of the Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical developments, by Rev. George Rawlinson, assisted by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir G. J. Wilkinson, is in the press of Murray.

A History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke, by Thomas M'Knight, author of the Biography of D'Israeli, by the same publisher.

A work on The Light of Nature, by Nathaniel Culverwell, with a Critical Essay on the work by John Cairns, M.A., is just published by Constable & Co.

The Romish paper, the Tablet, in discoursing on the future of the Romish Church in the United States, says: "Few insurance companies, we venture to assert, would take a risk on the national life of a creed which puts five hundred daily into the grave for one it wins over to its communion. And yet this is what Catholicity is doing in these States while we write."

Smith's Harmony of the Dispensations, from the press of Carlton & Porter, is just issued, and will be noticed in our next number.